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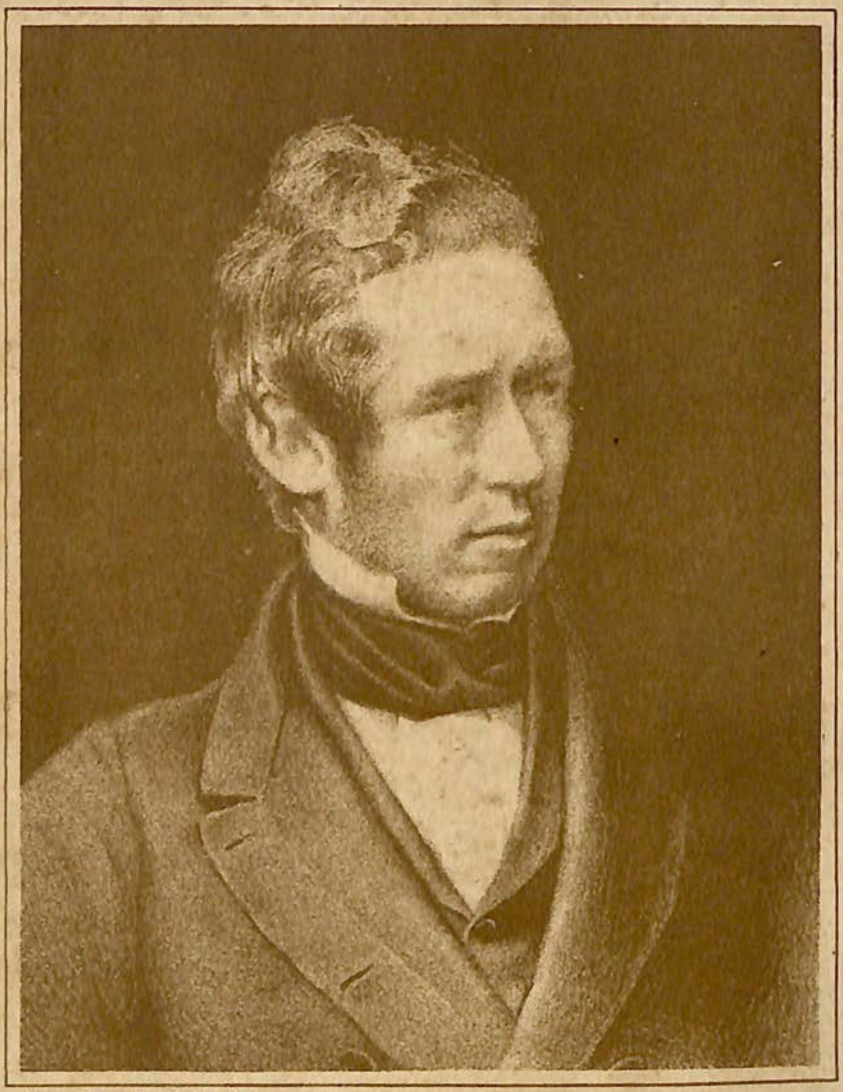

From a Calotype by D O Hill R S A

Stephen Bishop

STEPHEN HISLOP

PIONEER MISSIONARY & NATURALIST IN CENTRAL INDIA

FROM 1844 TO 1863

24267 a.c

BY GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E., LL.D.

AUTHOR OF 'THE LIFE OF WILLIAM CAREY, D.D.,' ETC. ETC.
FELLOW OF THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL AND
ROYAL STATISTICAL SOCIETIES, ETC.

Καὶ ἐξελέξαντο Στέφανον, ἄνδρα πλήρη πίστεως καὶ Πνεύματος Ἁγίου

WITH PORTRAIT AND ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET
1888

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"WHAT are we set on earth for? Say, to toil;
Nor seek to leave thy tending of the vines
For all the heat o' the day, till it declines,
And Death's mild curfew shall from work assoil.
God did anoint thee with His odorous oil,
To wrestle, not to reign; and He assigns
All thy tears over, like pure crystallines,
For younger fellow-workers of the soil
To wear for amulets. So others shall
Take patience, labour, to their heart and hand,
From thy hand and thy heart and thy brave cheer,
And God's grace fructify through thee to all.
The least flower, with a brimming cup may stand,
And share its dew-drop with another near."

E. B. BROWNING.

TO

JAMES CAMPBELL WHITE,

OVERTOUN,

WHOSE LIFE ILLUSTRATES THE SPIRITUAL LAW

OF THOMAS CHALMERS,

THAT FOREIGN MISSIONS ACT ON HOME MISSIONS, NOT BY

EXHAUSTION BUT BY FERMENTATION

PREFACE

WHEN, in 1863, the Indian telegraph flashed the news of the sudden death of Stephen Hislop of Nagpoor, the Rev. Dr. John Wilson of Bombay resolved to write his Life. In 1864 he published, as "only a provisional memorial" of the Hero-Missionary and Scientist, an elaborate discourse on his death, with a note on the Results of his Geological Researches, and a narrative of his last hours written by the Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces of India. In the absence of a full Memoir I was frequently urged by one of the trustees, Major Lawrence Johnston of Culross Abbey, to undertake the work. My correspondence with Mr. Hislop had been close, in the later years of his life, but we were too far apart and too busy to have met each other. As the friends who personally knew him were being removed, I at last put aside other demands on my little leisure, to prepare and write this book. In the twelve months since it was begun, death has been busier than ever. Major L. Johnston has been suddenly struck down. The Author has written under the shadow of the loss of her who was for thirty-three years his loving helper and wise critic. If, accordingly, the work and the memory of Stephen Hislop suffer, I thank God that He has spared me to put the facts, at least, on record, for the benefit of the Church of India

and of the young men and women of Christendom, who are learning to find in the alliance of Missions and Science a career more joyous and fruitful than any other.

I desire to acknowledge the help of the Rev. Robert Hunter, LL.D., F.G.S., Hislop's still surviving colleague, and of Professor Duns, D.D., the friend of his youth; also, the kindness of Thomas Nelson, Esq., who furnished three of the page Illustrations.

SERAMPORE HOUSE, MERCHISTON,
EDINBURGH, *6th August* 1888.

ADDENDUM

On page 266 read following lines under illustration :—

a. Overlying nodular trap. *b.* Freshwater tertiary.
c. Underlying trap; vesicular for some feet under the freshwater deposit, then compact, but nodular at the sides.
d. Highest member of the Sandstone series, which most probably underlies the amygdaloid throughout.
e. Gneiss, into which much of the Sandstone has been transformed. *f.* Pegmatite.

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STEPHEN HISLOP

CHAPTER I

EARLY ENVIRONMENT

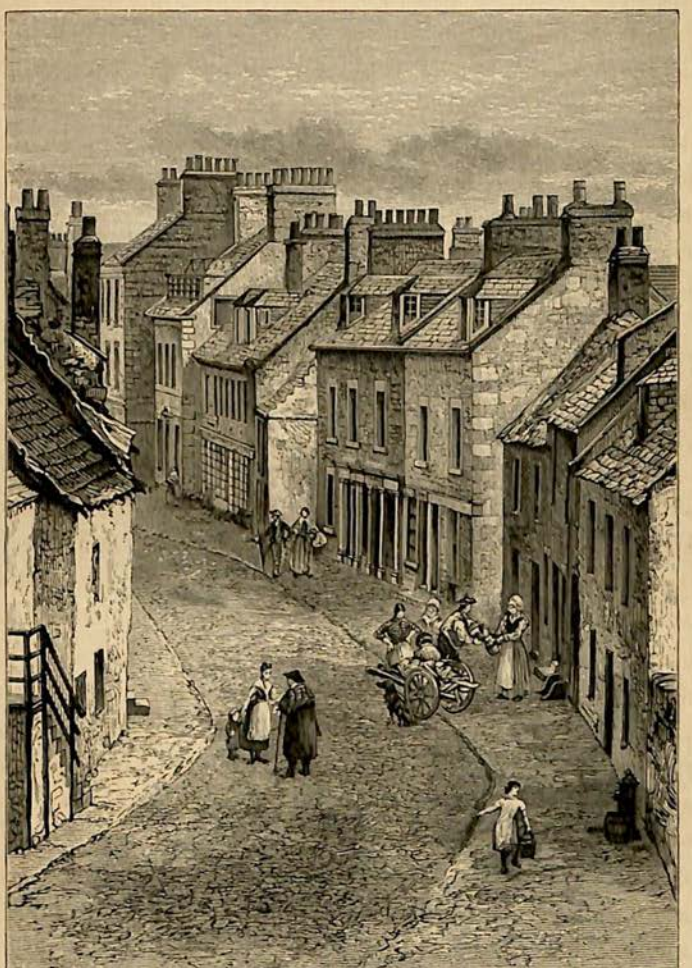
Stephen Hislop's career—Birth and family—Duns—Berwickshire Missionaries from Cuthbert to John Wilson—Thomas Boston and modern missions—M'Crie, Cunningham, Fairbairn—Hislop's parents, minister, and teachers—Nature his schoolmaster—The auld shoemaker—Recollections by Professor Duns—Boyhood and youth—At Edinburgh and Glasgow Universities—The evangelical movement—Teacher and tutor—Dr. Duncan of Ruthwell and its manse—Scientific attractions of Corncockle Muir and Lochar Moss—Hislop's spiritual autobiography—Engagement to Miss Erasma Hull—What made him first think of going to India—Refuses other temptations—Formally offers himself and is accepted—Shipwrecked off St. Andrews—His portrait—Married—From Olney to Bombay—Another storm—"God has some work for us at Nagpoor."

In the twenty years from 1844 to 1863 Stephen Hislop founded and built up, in Nagpoor in the Central Provinces of India, the Christian Mission and the College which bears his name. He was the first to explore the geology, to describe the natural history, and to reveal the mineral wealth of that region—as large as Italy—of hills and forests, rivers and plains waving with grain and cotton. While giving his life chiefly to the Marathas and the Tamil and Telugu-speaking peoples who meet in the centre of India, he reduced to writing the language and folk-lore of its aboriginal Go[redacted] tribes. He nearly perished in the attempt to reform

abuses of the Hindu state; when it became a British province he was the means of cleansing its early administration of corruption. To his influence with its grateful people, and especially with its educated Mohammedans, was due the warning which, in the Mutiny of 1857, saved Nagpoor and all India to the south. Suddenly, at nightfall, in the obscure waters of a hill-torrent, after a day of professional toil, and archæological research, this devoted Scottish missionary and savant, when in the perfection of his powers, fell a martyr to his love for Christ and to his disinterested labours for the peoples of India, like Bishop Cotton three years after.

Stephen Hislop was born in the old Berwickshire capital, Duns, on the 8th September 1817. He was the youngest of the six children of Stephen Hislop and Margaret Thomson, who had been married twelve years before in the border town of Coldstream, some miles to the south, and had soon after settled in a substantial house near the quaint square of Duns. His two brothers, Alexander the eldest, and Robert, two years older than himself, in their time gained a Scottish reputation. The former was educated for the ministry of the Church of Scotland. He was a ripe classical scholar, was deeply read in Biblical archæology and prophetic exposition, and he became a minister of the Free Church of Scotland in the town of Arbroath. Robert was an enthusiastic entomologist; as the head of the Training College in Glasgow, and afterwards of Blair Lodge Academy, he wielded an influence akin to that of Arnold at Rugby. He was the constant companion of the younger Stephen's boyhood, and the correspondent of his whole Indian life.

No man known to biographical literature has more notably than Stephen Hislop reproduced in character and [redacted]reer, the historical, physical, and spiritual influences of his [redacted] Duns was just the place, of all places in the world,



HIS BIRTHPLACE IN DUNS *To face page 2.*

(*Second house on the right*).

for the production and training of the future apostle of Christianity and Science. The second quarter of the nineteenth century was just the time, in Scotland at least, to feed with robust evangelical food the man who was to take the finest method of evangelicalism,—the educational evangelising of the civilised peoples of Asia, and apply it for the first time to the twelve millions of the Central Provinces of India.

Duns stands no longer on the Dun, law or hill, on the grassy summit of which the Britons and then the Romans fortified themselves, and from which, using the old works, Lesley and his forty thousand stalwart covenanting ploughmen looked down on Charles I. on the plain above Berwick town. Nor is there any human trace of Duns the second on the western slopes of the hill, which the Hays bought up and swept away to the present site, when they made the grounds around Duns Castle worthy of the noblest residence in the county. Trees alone are pointed to as having there shaded the rude home of the great schoolman who made his country famous all over middle-age Europe as founder of the Scotists; and the hardly less simple manse in which the scholarly biographer of John Knox and the Covenant first saw the light. The modern town to the south of the Dun, clustering around its square and stretching eastward in pleasant villas and gardens past the railway station towards the North Sea, is a cosy centre of rural influences and associations. But for the young, on weekly holiday and in the summer evening leisure, the charm of Duns lies in its surroundings, its Whiteadder and Langton Burn, its hill and lake and castle grounds, its woods and grassy slopes, its walks and their wealth of natural objects. All the glories of the Scots and English border, of scenery, tradition and science, are concentrated or represented around this substantial and well-satisfied town which has never had so many

as three thousand inhabitants. In truth this is an ideal home for naturalists; and to several has it given birth, though to none so far-travelled and much-achieving as Stephen Hislop.

Nor is Duns less the natural training school of the Christian missionary. The neighbourhood bristles with memories of apostolic labours, no less than of border forays and historic events from Robert the Bruce to Flodden Field and Cromwell. It formed the northern part of the great mission field of Northumbria, through which the Scots followers of Columba of Iona converted and civilised the Angles, right down to Lindisfarne and Whitby, Durham and York. A few miles east of Duns is St. Abb's Head, which for ever commemorates the zeal of the woman-missionary, Æbba, half-sister of the king who founded the twin settlement of Coldingham. On the Lammermuirs to the north-west, and by the banks of the Leader, the young shepherd, Cuthbert, heard the angel voices which summoned him to the heavenly calling, at Old Melrose, Ripon and Lindisfarne, and have resulted in the best of all mediæval biographies, by Baeda. Whatever view we take of the teaching of John Scot of Duns, a portrait of whom hangs in the modern town hall, the great nominalist belonged to the Franciscans, the most missionary of the orders, and his writings gave an extraordinary impulse to European thought; although his followers showed a spirit which led their opponents and Tyndale to scorn them as "Dunce's disciples, and lyke draffe called Scotistes." Yet John Duns was the earliest native of Scotland to gain a lasting fame in letters.[1]

From this region came Alexander and Michael Shields "of Haughhead in the Merse," who may be pronounced the first foreign missionaries from Scotland, since they went forth to Darien, in 1699, to preach to the unhappy colonists and

[1] John Hill Burton's *History of Scotland*, vol. iii.

"contribute to the conversion of the Pagan Natives;" and "they never returned."

But the man born in Duns, who was of all others the predecessor of Stephen Hislop was Thomas Boston, from whom, as an evangelical saint, one of its churches is named. It is significant of the growing critical fairness at least of the thought of the present day that, at the same time, but independently, the *Quarterly* and *Edinburgh Reviews* have recently vindicated the scholarship and the saintliness of this modest Scottish minister. Boston marks, not only in Scotland, but in the whole United Kingdom, the first transition of the churches from a dead and false orthodoxy to a living and missionary Christianity. When about the year 1700, he who in his boyhood had seen the fate of Renwick, the last of the martyrs, found Edward Fisher's *Marrow of Modern Divinity* in a cottage, and rescued it from obscurity, he began what the Wesleys under Fuller and William Carey followed up in England, with splendid results, many years afterwards. The condemnation of the book by the "moderate" majority of the General Assembly, and its vindication made it the centre of the battle, lasting over a century, in Scotland, from which the Church issued truly evangelical and therefore missionary. *The Marrow* thus expresses the truth which is the corner-stone of Christendom: "God the Father, moved with His free love to mankind lost, hath made a deed of gift and grant unto them all, that whosoever of them shall believe in this His Son, shall not perish, but have eternal life. And hence it was that Jesus Christ Himself said unto His disciples, 'Go and preach the Gospel to every creature under heaven'; that is, Go and tell every man without exception that here is good news, Christ is dead for *him*, and if he will take Him and accept of His righteousness he shall have Him." Boston's friends, the two Erskines, seceded from the Church of Scotland which condemned this

teaching in those days, and the Secession Church was the first to send a missionary to Africa—Peter Greig. Boston's son and successor as minister of Ettrick seceded at a later date on the same great principle, and formed with two others that Relief Church, from the heart of which came Stephen Hislop, the legitimate spiritual representative of his fellow-townsman, Thomas Boston, in happier times, but after a still bigger secession.

Other men of local mark, of whom Hislop knew and was proud, were the cultured Thomas M'Crie, to whose powers Sir Walter Scott and the University of Edinburgh bore unwilling testimony in intolerant times; William Cunningham, who rose to be the Edinburgh Principal of the Free Church of Scotland, and to influence many generations of preachers; and Principal Fairbairn, a ripe scholar, who held a similar position in Glasgow. But to him the most interesting of all must have been John Wilson of Bombay, who ultimately sent him to India. Wilson, too, was a Berwickshire man from Lauder, which is but a seven miles' walk from Duns. When Hislop was a student, John Wilson had risen to the height of his early reputation; and his letters, as published by the Church, were nowhere more eagerly read than all along the border counties which had sent so many great men to the far East. Wilson came home bringing with him the first convert from Parseeism to Christ, Dhanjibhai Nauroji, in good time to cast his mantle over Hislop, and send him far from the quiet joys of the Merse, Lammermuir, and Lauderdale to the peoples of Nagpoor.

Such were the more potent external influences into the midst of which young Stephen Hislop was born in the bright autumn time of the year 1817. But powerful as are history and nature, the accumulated influences of generations and the genius of a place, these may be defeated or abused unless they are directed by the home. Here, too, the boy was most

fortunate. The home was humble, thrifty, and sufficiently shut in within itself, while removed from poverty and all the meanness or coarseness which too often accompany the hardships of the poor. The father, who named his youngest boy after himself, was one of a firm of three masons or builders, who employed others while working with their own hands. To him some of the best farm-mansions and steadings in the border land are due. He and the house-mother were of the stamp described in the Gospel, and met with in every generation of the common people in Scotland since they worked out for themselves the reformation in Church and State, "righteous before God, walking in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless," but self-distrustful and reserved.

The father was an elder of the Relief Church before its junction with that of the first Secession as the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland. From the beginning of the century till 1838 the Rev. John Ralston had been his minister and the principal preacher in the town. From him, next to his parents, young Stephen, as boy and student, seems to have learned that gravity of behaviour and knowledge which, without effacing the man in him or destroying a certain native humour which he showed, made him a defender of the faith alike against a corrupt Christianity and heathenism. From this religious training-school in family and congregation, he passed through the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, their great preachers and refining culture, to the Church of Scotland, only to leave it in 1843 with Chalmers and the evangelical majority, whom the civil courts and Parliament drove out, to the sorrow of this generation.

Stephen Hislop's schooling was just enough to develop the boy's powers without crushing or straining them. As the youngest son he was not meant to seek one of the learned

professions. From Dickson's adventure school he passed to that of Thomas Sheriff, famous in the town as a teacher of arithmetic. There he learned two arts of signal value to him as reforming missionary and pioneering naturalist—the statistical and the usefully artistic. He became an observer and a recorder of his observations in that cellar-like cottage where, when the boys rushed in, they fell into a muddy hollow in the centre, the portion at either wall alone being paved for the master and the classes to stand steady. From this school, with which most of the town boys were content, he passed on to the parish school, then presided over by an accomplished Latin scholar, of the type which the all-levelling code has now made almost extinct. Mercer left his classical mark on the boy, as on his brothers before him. In due time he became an assistant-master there. The school, recently changed into the hall of the parish church, stands nigh the place where Boston's sight of an open grave and mouldering humanity led him to plan his great work on *Human Nature in its Fourfold State.*

Nature was the youth's chief schoolmaster, besides his parents, minister, and teachers. Every holiday, every leisure hour, was given to the observation of the country around his home. When alone, which was frequent, a book was his companion. When fishing, the book was not absent; but his favourite companion was his elder brother Robert. When bent on insect-hunting or fossil-collecting, he had with him the most intimate of all his friends, now Professor Duns of the New College, Edinburgh. There still survives in Duns David Paterson, shoemaker, entomologist, and numismatist, who traces to the fishing and the walks along Langton Burn the formation of those tastes which have made him one of the class of self-taught naturalists whom Dr. Smiles delights to photograph for us. This "auld shoemaker," with the head of Jacob Boehme and but one enemy in all the world—

poverty, which restricts his library and collections, tells how on a fishing excursion, when Robert had hooked a fine trout and Stephen was prone studying the beetles, the trout fell back into the stream just above the swirl of the mill, Paterson, a boy in a pinafore, rushed in to catch it, and Stephen plunged in after him and with exceeding difficulty rescued him from drowning. But Dr. Duns himself draws this authoritative picture of Stephen's boyhood and youth:—

"No more suggestive characterisation of the boy could have been given than in the Berwickshire *doric* of one, when told that Hislop was about to leave Scotland for mission work in India, 'Steephie, frae a bairn, was unco' auld-farrand, and aye sae guid.' As a child and boy he ever looked wiser than his years. Perhaps the full roundish face—broader than common across the somewhat high cheek bones—the prominent eyebrows, partially-sunken eyes, and deep lines slanting from the outer edges of the nostrils to the corners of the mouth, went far to account for the 'auld-farrand' look. Were it so or not, the disposition indicated by the good Scottish phrase was very characteristic, and his surroundings and upbringing could not fail to deepen it. The child of one of those households, still so numerous in rural districts of Scotland, in which religious principle and general intelligence are equally conspicuous, his training was on corresponding lines. His parents were much more reserved than is commonly the case with the class to which they belonged. His father was a tall, almost soldierly-looking man, and singularly intelligent, but after work hours he was seldom seen among his fellows. In all the relations of business he was not only of quiet demeanour, quick to discern, slow to offer advice, but companionable and genial also; ready in conversation with strokes of humour, which made neighbours smile but never caused pain. His mother had many acquaintances but few friends. In the small shop which she tended, while

her husband was at his work or superintending his workmen, she met many of her neighbours; but though the family sitting-room opened by a door directly into the shop, seldom a customer's foot passed that threshold. Quick-minded, well informed, a lover of 'good books,' careful sometimes to narrowness, and persistently diligent and industrious, she lived for her sons, of whom she had high hopes. She had often a dry, caustic way of remark in her intercourse with them, which her youngest son, at least, used to dread. When leaving him one evening he said, 'When will you be here in the morning?'—'At five,' was my answer. 'That will do,' replied Stephen. 'Oh yes!' his mother dryly remarked, 'our Stephen's a grand riser at night.' He was never an 'early bird.' Though ever on the very best terms with their neighbours, the household dwelt very much apart. Stephen very seldom took part in the amusements of boys about his own age. On one noted occasion he did so, to the great astonishment of his fellows and even of the town's folk. Annually at 'Fasterns' E'en' time (Shrove Tuesday) a game of hand-ball was played, the married men against the unmarried. The year before he entered college, Stephen threw himself into the match with an impetuosity which led wondering onlookers to exclaim, 'Is it possible? Is that Steephie Hislop?' I note this for the sake of a remark he made to me when it was afterwards referred to. He had come out of the fray a good deal mauled and with a torn coat.

"When he spoke even of trivial incidents, a little outside of common occurrences, his favourite phrase was, 'What a providence!' On one such occasion he was met by the unkind, ungenerous, but unreflecting question, 'Was your fasterns' e'en fight a providence?' Looking hurt, he remarked very seriously, 'It was permitted.' Now this was not a mere borrowed habit of speech. It was the expression of one who

lived under the sense of God's personal presence, and the ever actively influential belief that 'man's goings are of the Lord.' The two words 'early piety' well indicate the disposition underlying the habit. His, too, was the rare experience, to keep with him, lively and fresh, the simple faith of childhood throughout his mature years. The influence of this for good on his religious character, amidst the questionings, intellectual hesitancies, and doubts of student life, was great.

'There will be seen
That which we hold through faith, not shown by proof,
But in itself intelligibly plain,
E'en as the truth that man at first believes.'

DANTE, *Par.*, c. ii. 43.

"The time at home, not devoted to the preparation of school lessons, was chiefly occupied with drawing and painting, of which he was very fond—copying woodcuts, sketching and colouring botanical specimens which had been gathered in his walks. I have examples of his work which show how successfully he had cultivated both the habit of the eye and the habit of the hand. Out of doors there were the strolls with his brother Robert, or other companion, though oftenest solitarily, to Todlaw, Langton Loan, the 'Verter' by Grueldykes, returning by Cheeklaw, the 'Staneymoor,' as far as the Oxendean Road, or along the road to Manderstone. As years passed and school studies advanced, the summer mornings, from five to eight o'clock, and the Saturday half-holiday, were given to longer walks, taking with us a Latin or Greek book, or a Greek New Testament. Hislop was more than two years in advance of me, and was most helpful to me in solving difficulties, as his brother Robert had been to him. A favourite seat for reading was on the branches of an old alder tree, which overhung our much-loved stream the Verter, near Puttonmill. But the mornings were not all

devoted to study. 'Guddling' in the banks, or under the stones for trouts, or watching the circling of a small water-beetle (*Gyrinus*), or the apparent toil of another insect, the water-clearer (*Geris*), or examining the frog-spawn in its various stages in 'Blinkum Ditch,' or visiting Duns Law by the near 'cut' through George Johnstone's field, for the ever-attractive view from the top—the Eildon Hills, the Cheviots, Hume and Twisel Castles, the valley of the Tweed, the garden-like fields of the Merse lying between the Tweed and the outliers of the Lammermuirs—had all their characteristic charms for us in these bright summer mornings. On Saturday afternoons we went farther afield. More than once at late-summer, passing 'Polwart on the Green,' of which Allan Ramsay sung, we 'did' Greenlaw Moor to hunt the adder-fly (*Æshna varia*) and the demoiselle (*Calopteryx virgo*). The adder itself (*Pelias berus*) was sought and found near Cockburn Law, on the northern slope of which stand the still grand ruins of so-called 'Pictish' Edinshall, often visited, returning by Ellemford to get a specimen of copper ore from the *débris* of the once-worked mines. Then there were excursions to Dirrington Law to gather the berries of the 'rapperdandy' (*Arbutus uva-ursi*), or to Shawnabank for the intermediate winter-green (*Pyrola media*), or to Simprin, Boston's first charge, for the lesser winter-green (*P. minor*). The provision for the way in these rambles was simple enough, but to tired wanderers sweet and satisfying—a lump of coarse wheaten "scone," or of coarser barley bread, the waters of the clear stream, and in their seasons, the rasp, the bramble, the haw, the dog-hepe, and even occasionally, but with a wry mouth, the scrog-apple. There was a peculiarity in these excursions which perhaps impressed both of us. We would often walk for half an hour or more without exchanging a word. Indeed, sometimes our return home was almost in silence. This was not the effect of fatigue, for frequently at the time we would

have been ready to walk double the distance. Though I would not care to attempt to define it, or to differentiate the elements that make up the mood, I think I can now understand it. Perhaps Bryant's lines touch the edge of the explanation, though there are thoughts underlying it of deeper interest to the Christian student (John i. 3).

> 'To him who in the love of nature holds
> Communion with her visible forms, she speaks
> A various language; for his gayer hours
> She has a voice of gladness, and a smile
> And eloquence of beauty, and she glides
> Into his darker musings, with a mild
> And healing sympathy, that steals away
> Their sharpness, e'er he is aware.'

"This companionship was interrupted for a time when Stephen went to the university, which he did two or three years before me. When I joined him in Edinburgh our walks were resumed. Saturday afternoons were often spent among the fresh-water limestones of Burdiehouse, whence we invariably returned loaded with fossil plants and the remains of *Rhizodus*, most, if not all, of which are now preserved in the New College Museum, forming a rich and interesting collection. The religious and intellectual features of his boyhood were as strongly marked in his college career—transparent truthfulness, devoutness, moral strength and Christian manliness. I have known few who could so well bear to be looked at in the light of Bunyan's graphic sketch: 'Christian saw the picture of a very grave person hang up against the wall, and this was the fashion of it: It had eyes lifted up to heaven, the best of books in his hand, the law of truth was written upon its lips, the world was behind his back, and it stood as if it pleaded with men.'"

Having learned all that Duns could teach him and having come out first in mathematics, Latin and Greek, Stephen

Hislop entered the University of Edinburgh in his seventeenth year. In these subjects and in Moral Philosophy, and Hebrew afterwards, he carried off some of the highest honours. His four years of study in the Arts Faculty covered the dullest period of that University, which Carlyle has satirised. He just missed the first session of the teaching of Sir William Hamilton, which introduced a new era in the history of philosophy and of the college. If he caught some enthusiasm from the spirit, more physical than ethical, of "Christopher North," in 1837, and stood high in the regard of his professors, that was almost all for which he had to thank the Arts Faculty of Edinburgh in those days of darkness just before the dawn. The degree in Arts was then given not on examination, but after canvassing the senatus, and Hislop was not one of those who cared to do that. His real gain lay in the scientific training which he received in the classes of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy. That, added to his powers and habits of observation, made him the expert and authoritative naturalist which he soon became. He was to prove a worthy disciple of the school of Physics which Hutton and Playfair, Leslie, Edward Forbes, and Jameson had even then rendered illustrious.

The Faculty of Divinity had been redeemed from the scandalous inefficiency which had long prevailed, by the appointment of Thomas Chalmers and David Welsh some years before, but the first year's students did not come under their teaching. Accordingly, after a year as tutor in Butterdean, and then in Mouswald Manse, Hislop entered on the study of divinity in Glasgow University under Professor Stevenson MacGill. His brother Robert, in the same city, had already become known as an educationist. So many of the divinity students in Scotland supported themselves as schoolmasters and private tutors, that a system prevailed by which they might attend six "partial," or two full and

three "partial" sessions, instead of four full sessions of five months a year, from November to March. Stephen Hislop's first three sessions at Glasgow were "partial." But when he returned to Edinburgh University, and came under the spell of Chalmers and Welsh, he gave up his whole soul to the study. What they did for him at College was enlarged and practically applied in the preaching of Dr. James Buchanan, then in the High Kirk. Not only the Church, but the whole land was seething with the evangelical fervour which, having gradually gained the majority in the General Assembly, resulted in the heroic sacrifices by that majority which formed the Church of Scotland, Free, in 1843. Hislop and the divinity students lived and debated, resolved and suffered like their seniors during the white heat of the Third Reformation. He came out of college, adding to his scientific method and devotion the love of truth, the willingness to sacrifice everything for it, the consecration to Christ, and Christ alone, as Head of the Church and King of the peoples given to Him by the Father, which made him the great missionary he became.

As a student he could not enter into such little corporate life of the university as was then possible in Scotland. His friends were few and select. Next to Robert, his brother, and John Duns, in intimacy came Fletcher N. Menzies, now secretary of the Highland Society, whose loving letters he carefully preserved, and James Hardy, now the learned and enthusiastic secretary of the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club, the first of its kind in the country. When tutor at Butterdean, he spent all his leisure with Hardy in the study of the physical features of the district and coast, so interesting to naturalists, from St. Abb's Head north to Dunbar. Here Hugh Miller revelled when he could steal away from his newspaper—not then daily. Hislop and Hardy lodged together in 13 Hill Place, Edinburgh, during the winter session of the

University. When separated in summer, Hislop helped his friend with specimens collected by himself or obtained from his other associates, one of whom had been in Greenland and had come back stored with minerals collected in a cruise among the whale-fishing islands. He also procured for Hardy from Wick a *Primula scotica*. His letters to Hardy in these years, chiefly on natural history, would fill a volume. When in Dumfries-shire, Hislop began to work earnestly at fossil-collecting. Hugh Miller's *Old Red Sandstone* was appearing in the *Witness* newspaper, and Hislop sent the articles on to Hardy, drawing the fossils from the plates in a style which led his friend to pronounce them beautiful works of art, and himself to lament, on his furlough from India, that he could not then do the like, or reach that minute accuracy. William Stevenson, too, was another of the young local naturalists who worked with Hislop.

The development of his character was completed like that of so many of his countrymen, by the necessity laid upon him to support himself on leaving school. As the youngest of three brothers prepared for a learned profession, he rejoiced to accept this. Scholarships or bursaries were then few in a land where the muses were cultivated on a little oatmeal. As a tutor in the summer, and a schoolmaster in the winter in the city, he lived and paid his college fees and books. So in the same district and university, Thomas Carlyle, Edward Irving, and John Wilson of Bombay had done before him. When tutor in Mouswald, he soon made the acquaintance of the neighbouring minister, the then famous Dr. Henry Duncan of Ruthwell, who sent him up to Edinburgh at the beginning of the school term, with this letter to Mr. Craig, his brother-in-law :—

"RUTHWELL MANSE, 3*d October* 1842.—I write at present chiefly to request your good offices in favour of a young man whose excellent character has interested me deeply in his favour, and who has gone to

Edinburgh to attend the Divinity Hall this winter, but with limited resources, and dependent mainly for support on private teaching. His name is Hislop; he is from Dunse, but has been tutor for some time in the family of the minister of Mouswald where I got acquainted with him. He was formerly in the family of Sir A. Wallace of Lochryan, where he was highly acceptable, and has had a good deal of experience in teaching. His abilities are superior to the common run, and he is most conscientious, modest, and industrious. It would give me sincere pleasure to be in any way of use to him, and I by this post send him a letter of introduction to you, hoping that through your acquaintance with some of the teachers in the Academy and others, you may be able to procure some private teaching for him. I can assure you he will do credit to any recommendation you may give him."

The letter was sent on to Mr. A. W. Carmichael, and thereafter, when residing in Edinburgh, Hislop became one of the masters of Mr. Broughton's school in the Newington suburb. Long after, amid the heats of Southern India, the Rev. R. B. Blyth, who had been one of his boys, and received a life-long impulse from him, recalled these days "at college, at the missionary society, and when you taught in Mr. Broughton's school, amid what we Newington boys used to call 'the avenue.'" In Galloway, Hislop spent more than one summer as tutor in the family of Sir John A. Wallace, Lochryan House, Stranraer, who represented through the female line the old Craigie baronetcy of 1669. He endeared himself to the three boys, whose mind and character he did so much to form, that he won their parents' life-long gratitude. When the boys had any request to make, he insisted on their stating it in verse. He influenced them so that, though intended for Sandhurst, two of them studied afterwards at Trinity College, Cambridge, and took their degree. It is told of the third that he set sail three times for Australia, and was three times wrecked, whereupon he settled quietly at Rhynd, Dunfermline, where he recently passed away. With his pupils, as with his Duns and college companions, Hislop from the first showed that power of fascinating others for the highest

ends, which is essential to leaders of men, and attracted to him the natives of India, Mohammedan and Hindu.

The man who influenced him most in these formative years was Duncan of Ruthwell. In spite of his *Memoir* by his son, and the brighter sketch by his son-in-law, who resembled him, the Rev. James Dodds of Dunbar, justice has hardly been done to this ornament of Scotland and its church, as man, minister, scholar, and savant. Ruthwell Manse, created by him such a paradise that an old secession minister said to its mistress, "Mem, when ye dee and gang to heaven ye will think ye have never been oot o't," had long been the centre of all the culture and higher life of that corner of Scotland. There as a daughter of the manse she had received Robert Burns when he sought health in the parish, describing himself as "a poor plucked pigeon," envious of the humble manse ploughman; and when the blind was pulled down to keep the sun from his face he sadly said, "Let the sun shine in upon us, my dear young lady, he has not long to shine for me."[1] There David Brewster, the Malcolms and Diroms of India, Chalmers and Andrew Thomson, Jameson and Buckland the geologists, found a holiday with the father of Savings Banks, who could talk better than any of them on their own subject. There Dr. Henry Duncan became the centre of all the promising youths of the Border from Annan to Berwick; for Hogg and Leyden, Irving and M'Cheyne, Henry Grey and Horatius Bonar, sat at his feet and caught his spirit.

Such a man drew Stephen Hislop to himself; he honoured him with close personal intimacy half the year, and with a remarkable correspondence during the college session. In 1841 the student anticipated the experienced journalist and author in a critique of an Arminian work by a Mr. Osborne, intended evidently for the *Dumfries Courier*, which the

[1] *Personal Reminiscences and Biographical Sketches*, by the late Rev. James Dodds, Dunbar, 1887.

minister had founded and was editing. In two long letters Dr. Duncan expresses his delight with the criticism, but points out how certain crude and narrow representations of the orthodox doctrine should be avoided as not justified by Scripture nor held by Calvin. In 1842 we find these glimpses of the early working of the Savings Bank, and of the young Robert M'Cheyne during a famous visit, which resulted in the conversion of his cousins:—

"Ruthwell Manse, 22*d September* 1842.— . . . I enclose an order on the British Linen Company for eleven pounds, the amount of your deposit in the Parish Bank, independent of interest. I do not recollect that you said the interest was to be placed at my disposal, and I think you cannot well afford to be so liberal. I will not, however, balk your kind intentions, but will apply the amount in such a way as I think you would approve of. It is about 2s. 6d. If you find any difficulty in getting money for the inclosed order in Glasgow (British Linen Company branch), let me know, and I will get you a regular letter of credit from the branch in Dumfries. You would readily get it in Edinburgh.

"I rejoice with you in the remarkable change which has taken place in the minds of the Misses Dickson, although I fear that their views are still dark. Robert M'Cheyne was the instrument; but two of them had begun to take an interest in spiritual things before his arrival. They are all three gone to Dundee, where I hope their views will be expanded and their minds obtain the lively but calm and consistent feelings of a settled believer in the Saviour of sinners. As to the parochial machinery in operation here, we have nothing to boast of. There is the form, but I grieve to say little of the power—the body without the soul. I trust we have your prayers that life may be awakened 'beneath the ribs of death.' It is sad to have been nearly half a century labouring in the vineyard and to have produced so little fruit. It is true that unless God gives the increase the minister plants and labours in vain. But had the labourer done his duty there must have been more produce, for the promise is express.

"I am delighted to hear of the change produced in Cairnryan. I trust your visit there will be edifying both to yourself and your old friends. . . ."

Again—

"Mr. M'Cheyne is to preside at a prayer meeting in the church here to-morrow. Can you come to tea and remain to pray? Mr. Grey will be here."

During his four years' summer residence in Dumfriesshire and Wigtownshire, Hislop was in the very heart of scientific attractions, archæological and geological, of which he took full advantage, thus developing his Duns experience and applying his college training. Two events of era-making importance happened. Dr. Duncan discovered and reconstructed in the manse garden, the Runic pillar of Ruthwell; and he brought to light the fossil footprints in the New Red Sandstone. We shall see Stephen Hislop making very similar discoveries, and startling men of science by their novelty and value in the Central Provinces of India; becoming in truth a martyr to science as well as to his missionary zeal in the last day of his earthly life. His two most favourite haunts were the famous quarry of Corncockle-Muir—fifteen miles from Ruthwell, which had converted to new views Buckland, Sedgwick, and Murchison—and Lochar Moss, the botany of which he explored.

When still tutor in Mouswald, in 1841, Hislop met for the first time the young lady who became his wife and fellow-worker in India. Erasma Hull came from the inner circle of the old evangelical school of last century. Her grandfather was the Rev. Erasmus Middleton, who was Romaine's curate, preceded Leigh Richmond as rector of Turvey, and was Toplady's friend. Her father was the son of Whitefield's friend, whom he commended to John Newton when appointed to Olney, saying, "I am sure my good old friend, Mr. Hull, will join with you." It was from Olney, with such memories, and those of Cowper, Carey, and Sutcliff on the dissenting side, that Stephen Hislop took his wife in due time. In his early letters to her, immediately after their engagement, he

reveals himself with a frank humility which savours of John Bunyan and William Carey:—

"EDINBURGH, 38 CUMBERLAND STREET, 10*th December* 1842.— . . . So long as I was in Duns I had no clear view of Christianity. My parents kept me very strictly from the influence of evil companions; and by their own example they taught me to have a regard to the duties of religion. But they did not explain *to my comprehension* the great doctrine of justification by faith alone; whether it was their fault or mine I know not. I rather suspect it was mine, for I have every reason to believe that they themselves had embraced the truth, and were sanctified through its instrumentality. But whatever was the cause, it is true that till the period of my intercourse with Alexander I had not built my hope on the tried foundation. I now attained to a more correct perception of the gospel system; but I cannot affirm that at this time I was converted. During the session, of which I spent part with J. Symons, I had many things to try me, and I think they did me good. J. Symons's death tended to impress me. . . . I have had occasion since more than once to recognise the leadings of Providence in ordering my steps. Shortly after my settlement at Lochryan the revival at Kilsyth took place. I had been acquainted with Mr. Burns, the young preacher who was officiating, when the Spirit was so abundantly poured out, and the recollection of his heavenly-mindedness, which was deeply imprinted on my mind, caused me to take a lively interest in the work; and I think, though at a distance from the scene of such a plentiful shower, yet some drops of the divine influence descended upon my soul. My aversion to mix among the inhabitants of the surrounding district, which I felt strongly at first, now gave way; and on Sabbaths and at intervals of leisure on week days I endeavoured to set before them the things that relate to their eternal peace. My endeavours, being seconded by the Wallaces, and well received by those who were the objects of them, encouraged me to persevere with the work, when I was at last separated from them. And as these labours were the effect of a greater zeal in me, so by a reflex influence they became the means of increasing this cause, and making me more desirous of promoting the honour of Christ. Often while teaching in the Sabbath school, or exhorting at the prayer or missionary meeting, or finally while conversing with the sick and dying, or with those who had been lately bereaved, have I felt my own faith strengthened, and my love to our heavenly Father enkindled into a holy flame. When I removed to Mouswald I tried to set the same

machinery agoing there. . . . It was to Dr. and Mrs. Duncan of Ruthwell that I was principally indebted for the blessing of religious intercourse. I will not speedily forget the pleasure I used to derive from their conversation. Often did I walk between their house and Mouswald Manse about ten o'clock in the evening, musing all the while on the subjects relating to experimental religion, which had been talked of during the previous part of the evening. It was this which made me like the Duncans, and express to you the esteem I entertained for them. You are aware I had not the same opportunities of holding intercourse with you at that time, and therefore you will excuse me if I seem to give them the preference in this respect. That I have not *since* that time held similar or still dearer intercourse with you, I confess, is my own fault. But I hope that now I shall be enabled to amend it.

"I have thus given you a short account of my past history, both external and internal. Short though it is, however, it has left me little time to refer, according to my intention, to my present religious state. I am sorry to say it is very bad indeed. There have been seasons in my life when I have felt as if I were living near to God, when my soul was filled with a holy fervour, and my love for Jesus was stronger than all other emotions. But alas! it is not so with me now. The cares of this world have rendered me cold; even the studies in which I am engaged are engrossing my attention to the exclusion of thoughts connected with my own spiritual condition. Some might think it strange that studies in theology should have this effect. But so it is in my case; and I doubt not you understand how it happens. There is one obvious cause, which I must confess has been working in me; that is, the shameful neglect of secret prayer since I came to Edinburgh. How can I expect that my studies and my other occupations should not turn my heart from God if they are not sanctified by the instrumentality of prayer? How can I look for prosperity to my soul if I do not use the means which the Almighty has Himself appointed for procuring all the blessings we require? My dear E., I hope you have derived greater benefit from your approach to the Lord's table on this occasion than I did when I last partook of the Supper. Instead of becoming better then I am afraid I became worse. At least I have felt a considerable increase of coldness ever since. May God forgive my sin! The worst feature in my character is that I do not sufficiently comprehend the depths of my iniquity. And hence I have never in good earnest set about the work of repentance. I have frequently thought, when I reflected on this, that

I am still in an unregenerate state. I do not recollect a time when I experienced in my soul such a feeling of sin as is generally styled conviction. And this alone might cast a doubt on the safety of my present condition. But when to this is added a habitual callousness in regard to the numbers and heinous nature of my transgressions—a callousness, which so far from having become less of late, has been greatly increased—could I but realise the dangerous condition in which I am placed, I might well tremble and be dismayed."

Stephen Hislop thus traced his conversion to William Burns, afterwards the first Presbyterian missionary to China. Was he himself to become a missionary? As he approached the close of his divinity studies, in the throes of the great disruption of the old Church of Scotland, many competed for the services of one who stood in the front rank of the young men. The Blair Lodge public school, of which his brother, Robert afterwards became the head, tempted him to become a master and chaplain. Dr. Henry Duncan, in more than one pathetically flattering letter, implored him to become his assistant and successor, and so lighten labours which soon after carried off the old saint when in the act of preaching. One of the best livings in the "residuary" church, as it was called after May 1843, was at his command. To all he turned a deaf ear. While waiting for the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh's licence to preach the Gospel, in July 1843 he became Secretary of the Ladies Society for Female Education in India, founded by the Bombay officer, Major Jameson, a few years before. He so worked for that society, that it proposed to send him out, when married, as a missionary to Bombay, charged with the special duty of continuing the work of Margaret Wilson, which had led to its foundation. Still, not unwilling, he waited. Dr. John Wilson, accompanied by the first convert from Parseeism, was on his way home, was indeed in London, and reached Edinburgh on 4th November 1843. These letters written to Miss Hull in that momentous year, show how he became a missionary:—

"20*th January* 1843.—This morning at our University Missionary Association, we had a very interesting address from Rev. Dr. Stevenson of Bombay. He told us of the need of missionaries in India, and of the qualifications requisite in them. One qualification is a turn for languages, which I think I possess; but the most essential of all requisites in one who would do this work of the evangelist faithfully is personal piety—a singleness of heart and aim—increased devotedness to Christ and His cause. In this respect I frankly acknowledge to you I fall vastly short; and though I am deficient in courage and the taste for business it is in regard for spirituality of feeling that I am aware the greatest defect exists. When I think of this, and when I reflect that nothing but an elevated piety implanted by the Spirit of God will carry a missionary through his arduous labours, I begin to conclude that I should not take even into consideration the question whether in any circumstances I ought to be a missionary. This, however, ought not to be the conclusion. I should rather be stirred up to more earnest prayer for the gift of the Spirit, that I may be *spiritually* fitted at least for any department of the Lord's vineyard, to which he may appear to send me."

"EDINBURGH, 12*th October* 1843.— . . . Dr. Duff has given in his adherence to the Free Church in most explicit terms. A letter from him was received here yesterday morning, and was read before the Presbytery in the afternoon. This is a most joyful event to all Free Presbyterians. It is a most striking testimony to the truth of our principles: wherever godly men out of the country have examined them, they have most unequivocally expressed their concurrence in them, and their sympathy with those who hold them.

"To-day we had a meeting of the sub-committee of our Society. I read a report of my tours, which was unanimously approved of. This week I have been engaged in transcribing the minutes of all the meetings which have been held since the disruption of the Church and our Association. They are now collected in a book, and everything I hope will henceforth go on in a business-like manner.

"I have had frequent meetings with Dr. Wilson and the Parsee. I expect the latter to breakfast with me to-morrow morning. . . ."

"EDINBURGH, 50 CUMBERLAND STREET, 6*th November* 1843.—. . You ask me, what made me first think of going to India. The pleadings of men engaged in foreign labour, which I used to read long ago, convinced me that Christians at home are too little disposed to go abroad

at the bidding of their Master. I did not at the time consider myself qualified to become a missionary ; neither did I feel any great enthusiasm to devote myself to the work at some subsequent period; but I was persuaded in my understanding that the aversion among young men to a missionary's life, which was very prevalent, was wrong. *When* I thought first of India, I would not take it upon me to say, but I think it was after reading a little work of Dr. Duff's entitled *Missions the Chief End of the Church.* My knowledge of Dr. Wilson, and my sympathy with his tastes and habits had a certain influence in inclining my thoughts towards Bombay as a scene of labour. But I had no serious intention of leaving Scotland, until the arrival of Dr. Wilson and my intercourse with him. Then I felt as if I could not edify a congregation at home, and that God had marked out India as my only sphere of usefulness. My difficulty in speaking, and my difficulty in composition were certainly the most weighty reasons with me in deciding on my inability to edify a British audience ; but you will perceive from what I have said above, that other reasons, and these antecedent, had contributed their share of influence in making me think of a missionary life in India. While I thought I would not be able to preach, I considered that I might be qualified to teach both the Bible and some branch of science, for which I confess I have a liking.

"This last circumstance is to be taken into account ; for in order to the success of the missions, it is necessary that our Institution at Bombay should have the superiority even in science over other seminaries which teach science without religion. Our Christianity is recommended to the natives by our secular knowledge. It is for the latter they come ; and if they cannot get it good at a religious seminary, they would never think of preferring such an institution to another seminary, when it is given good and unadulterated, as they would think, with piety. Teaching would be my principal occupation. I might preach occasionally in a foreign language, when I had acquired it, once a fortnight during Sabbath, and have a sort of prayer meeting during the week—but not more frequently. I would prefer being under the Church, not under the Female Society. . . . I do not know whether my offer, if made to the Church, would be accepted. I rather suppose Alexander prejudiced Dr. Wilson against me, and he will have the principal duty to discharge in fixing with individuals. A.'s reasons were, that he thought I was not a good teacher, and that if I would take care, I might improve as a preacher. If the Church accepted of my services, of course I could not go out till summer—till after my college session was completed, and I received licence and induction.

"In regard to the salary I had never once thought till this morning. I had contented myself with the belief that the Church would not allow me to starve, and that if I got a bare maintenance it would satisfy me. Dr. Wilson has left town this morning; but I have asked Dhunjebhoy what the missionaries of the Free Church are to get. He says he believes only £150 this year, but that it is hoped they will receive £200 or £250 hereafter. When the missionaries in India were in connection with the Establishment they were in the habit of receiving nearly £500. What a noble sacrifice they have made! I am not concerned about the funds. God will provide. Yesterday there was a collection in all the city churches for India. They produced much more than ever they did before the disruption. Candlish collected £210; Dr. Gordon, £130; Mr. Bruce, £87, etc. The passage of missionaries is paid for them you are aware, and outfit too, I believe.

"Dhanji is sitting with me just now, and he assures me that India is not so prejudicial to Europeans, as is commonly supposed, if proper precautions are used. This I am persuaded of. But I trust we shall be ready to respond to the call of God, whether it be to go or to stay. We are not to confer with flesh and blood, if there is a clear case of duty. . . ."

On 20th January 1844, he formally offered himself to the Foreign Missions Committee of the Free Church of Scotland, through the Rev. Dr. Gordon, to go to India as a missionary, with this result, as written to Miss Hull:—

"EDINBURGH, 25*th January* 1844.—. . . Dr. Gordon communicated the fact to the members of committee, among whom were James Buchanan and Henry Grey. They all concurred in approving of the offer, or rather the candidate, and considered it would be unnecessary to name a day for an examination, as is generally done. They proposed that no final deliverance should be come to on the matter for a month, when it is more than probable that I shall receive formal intimation of its acceptance. Meanwhile they have no doubt as to the propriety of sending me abroad. The question with them is not *whether* but *whither* I am to go. Dr. Wilson says, the feeling among the members of committee seemed to be that I should be appointed to Nagpoor as the person who had offered for it was discovered to be unqualified for such an important station. But if I am to go, they will, of course, consult me as to the particular locality I would prefer, whether Nagpoor or Bombay. Since learning these steps, I have endeavoured to

acquaint myself with the circumstances of Nagpoor. . . . The elevation of the plain is about 1200 feet, which makes it cooler in the hot season than Bombay. And on this account it is reckoned on the whole healthier and more agreeable to a European than many localities in India. These are all favourable enough circumstances ; but still I cannot conceal from myself, and I do not wish to conceal from you, the fact that the foundation of a mission, and the watching over it in its infant state, would be much more arduous duties than I would be called to discharge as superintendent of Female Schools at Bombay. At the same time, I may inform you that we would not be called to enter on the performance of them all at once and alone. Dr. Wilson proposes that I should first take up my residence at Poona—a nice retired station among the hills, where there are Presbyterian Missionaries already ; and there study the language for a year ; by that time he himself would (D.V.) have returned to India, and he would accompany us to N. and aid us in commencing our operations. . . . To-morrow I have to read my sermon to Chalmers, which I have never yet got off my hands."

He was licensed to preach the Gospel by the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh. Meanwhile he was in constant communication with the friend of his boyhood, Dr. Duns, then minister at Torphichen. He desired to renew, once at least, their Greek reading—"Bring your *Epictetus* with you," and to have one more "botanical, entomological, and geological excursion." He visited his brother Alexander at Arbroath, and he was returning from Dundee in the *Windsor Castle* steamer, when the wreck occurred, which he thus describes in a letter to his sister Janet, Mrs. Wilson, at Duns :—

"OLNEY, 25*th October* 1844.— . . . The day I embarked was a Tuesday, the same day as the Queen did. After having seen her Majesty's embarkation, we sailed from Dundee at 5 o'clock in the evening, in the suite of the Royal yacht. Many of my fellow-passengers, elated with the gaiety of the scene which they had previously witnessed, no sooner found themselves afloat, than they gave themselves up to music and dancing, and to all manner of foolish merriment. . . . Then the giddy throng went down into the cabin to partake of refreshment. . . . I remained where I was, feeling that it was good to be there. They had not been long down below

when suddenly there was a momentary confusion amongst the men in the forecastle, and immediately after, a tremendous crash which sent everything on deck out of its place. The dinner-party in the cabin, where the shock was more severe, came rushing upstairs to ascertain the cause: and in looking from the stern, where I had been seated, to the bowsprit, towards which all were hastening, I perceived that we had struck against a rock about three miles off the coast of Fife, about St. Andrews. When it was learned that the water was pouring in at the leak, and that everything threatened speedy death, the scene on board was dreadful. *There*, on that sinking vessel, were assembled men, women, and children, to the number of about 250. Few had hope before God, into whose awful presence they expected soon to be ushered. What had then become of the mirth of the worldlings? Alas! it had given way to terror and despair. Where was then the god whom they had been lately serving. Alas! Satan was near enough, but it was not to save them—not to administer to them support in the hour of trial. Under his influence many were imprecating curses on the captain of the vessel, whom they charged with the crime of their murder: but none were offering up prayers to God through the mediation of His Son. In this extremity I was enabled to continue with little interruption the same train of sweet and elevating reflection as my mind had been pursuing before the catastrophe; and it seemed as if it had been sent for the express purpose of preparing me for immediate entrance into heaven. Occasionally an aged Secession minister (Mr. Hogg of Haddington) and myself endeavoured to drop a word of instruction into the minds of our distracted fellow-passengers. We pointed them to Christ, the Saviour of even the chief of sinners. But Satan seemed to hold them fast. . . . After sailing as best the vessel could for about twenty minutes from the time of the first shock, we struck again on a rock. But here I am called to magnify the wonder-working power of the Almighty.

"Previous to our second collision we were just on the point of sinking. The vessel was becoming perfectly unmanageable, though there was little wind. It was lurching fearfully from side to side, owing to the motion of the water in the hold and cabin, and sometimes the forecastle rose so high as to threaten to send us stern downwards to the bottom. The water, too, was extinguishing the fires, and preventing the engine from working. It was just when the engine had entirely ceased to move the paddles, that we came upon the rock before referred to. In consequence of the cessation of the engine the vessel came upon it so gently as to receive no further injury; and yet in conse-

quence of the impulse with which it was still carried forward from the recent working of the engine, it advanced so far on the reef, for it was a sunken rock, as to stick fast upon it. How evident is the finger of God in all this! And so it is in what remains to be told. The portion of the reef on which we were moored, we found, as well as the darkness would permit, to be a cleft with a wall on either side. Then the wind was from the west, and the tide was ebbing. All these circumstances were in our favour. Had the wind been from the east we could not have lived a moment among the breakers, which in that case would have been raised. As it was, the vessel was allowed to remain where it had, as it were, come to anchor. . . . Now was the time for attempting a landing with boats. The cry was for boats. But only one frail bark could be produced, and that furnished with only one oar, and capable of holding not more than six people at a time. One boat for 250 passengers! However, in about two hours we all were landed in some way or other. I did not get out by a boat at all. Along with a few others, who were left to the last, I let myself down by a rope from about the bowsprit, and so gained the rock on which the vessel was fixed, and which was now left dry; and by leaping from rock to rock over the pools which the receding tide had left, I at last reached the shore.

"You may imagine my feelings at this time. I could appropriate the language of David at the beginning of Ps. xl. in a double sense. He had rescued me from temporal death; and at the same time He had given me to understand, as I had never done before, that my confidence was placed on Christ the Rock of Ages. What a blessing is this! How gracious, then, was the dispensation, by means of which it was conferred. And how seasonable was it. God knows that dangers and trials are before me: and therefore He gave me a foretaste of what I am to expect, and along with this intimation He taught me in what quarter to apply that I may find peace and safety in the most trying situation in which I may be placed: Ps. xlvi. and Ps. lxii. . . ."

At this time one of the best of the Scottish school of artists, the late D. O. Hill, R.S.A., was engaged on his great picture of the Disruption of the Church of Scotland, in which Thomas Chalmers and five or six hundred members of the General Assembly are seen signing the deed by which they gave up their all and protested against that invasion of the spiritual rights of the people, for which a subsequent Act of

Parliament has vainly striven to atone. In his charming little retreat on the Calton Hill, the artist, assisted by Mr. Adamson, his working photographer, used to make the sketches required to assist him in producing so many portraits on the canvas. Among the young men and ministers often to be found there, was Stephen Hislop. Photography was then in its infancy, and Mr. D. O. Hill produced the calotypes, as they were called, in which the dark shadows are lighted up by the reddish colour, and the result is generally a rugged but powerful likeness. From D. O. Hill's calotype we have reproduced the portrait[1] of Stephen Hislop as he bade farewell to Scotland at the age of twenty-seven. He was then, and indeed always, as described by a contemporary journal, "a tall, bony Scotsman," with a rough-hewn, rugged look, like young Thomas Carlyle, but features different from his in all save the power and far-seeing ideality which they revealed. He had remarkably small hands for a man of his size, and hence his frequently exquisite drawings. He had piercing eyesight which, directed by his trained powers of observation, helped him as a naturalist, especially in fossil conchology and botany.

After their marriage, Mr. and Mrs. Hislop visited Olney, where he had much conversation with Rev. Dr. Schmidt, the former colleague of Rhenius in South India. For the new missionaries, as for Dr. Duff in 1829 and many others since, Sir John Pirie, a Duns man, secured a passage, in the steamer which left Southampton for Bombay on 3d November 1844. To all the usual duties attending the setting apart of a young missionary Hislop had added those of assisting Rev. Dr. Welsh in organising the noble theological library of the New College, then numbering 20,000, and now 40,000 volumes, and of copying the Greek, Latin, and German extracts for the *History of the Church* which that scholar was about to pub-

[1] Frontispiece.

lish. But it was not till he had passed through an almost disastrous storm off the coast of Portugal, that he found the quiet rest and meditative leisure by which a voyage to the East generally restores the over-tasked traveller for new and delightful toil in the service of Him who never sends a messenger on his own charges.

In the midst of the storm, his concern was for one dear to him, to whom he thus wrote from Gibraltar: "Would that I could impart to you that peace of soul of which your communication regrets the absence. I assure you, two nights ago when we were tossed on the billows of the wide Atlantic, without the hope of ever again reaching dry land, your condition pressed very heavily on my mind. I prayed that God might prolong my life that I might have an opportunity—just another opportunity, if it were no more—of recommending to you with all earnestness and fidelity an implicit and unwavering adherence to that faith which we in common possess. Oh! moderate your attachment to entomology, and cultivate a closer walk with God! . . . When death seemed imminent, I was enabled to commend you to God, though still I prayed for prolongation of life that I might write to you again and spend many years to the glory of God among the heathen. Our prayers were heard."

"13*th December* 1844.—Landed at Bombay in a boat which had brought off Messrs. Nesbit, M. Mitchell, and Lancaster. We received a very hearty welcome from them. Glad we were to exchange the *Victoria* for Mr. Nesbit's hospitable mansion. Our lives have been prolonged for the glory of God. He has some work for us, it would appear, at Nagpoor."

CHAPTER II

THE NAGPOOR LAND AND PEOPLES

The Highlands of Central India—Last to be conquered—The northern wall of South India—Ethnic meeting-place—Gonds as influenced by Rajpoots and Mussulmans—The four Maratha houses—The Bhoslas of Nagpoor—Raghoji III., the last of the race—The first pioneer mission to Central India—Colonel Moxon, Dr. Carey's nephew—His letters—Sir Donald M'Leod and his conversion—His seven missionaries to the Gonds—Fate near Amarkantak hill of the second pioneer mission—Sir William Hill—His wife's endowment of Stephen Hislop's mission, and her death—Dr. Wilson of Bombay and the Free Church of Scotland accept the endowment—Sir Donald M'Leod's annual gift—Hislop's ordination described—Dr. Wilson's ordination charge to the missionary—The twelve phases of the missionary ideal—Appeal to Christians to evangelise—Hislop's survey of Bombay—Journey to Nagpoor by Elura, Ajanta, and Berar—Robert Nesbit's character of Hislop.

WHEN, in 1845, Stephen Hislop entered the Maratha State of Nagpoor, and first surveyed the rich plateaux and highland forests of its aboriginal Gonds, the land had been for thirty years under British influence tempering Maratha misrule. But no ray of light, from divine revelation or material science, had reached its long oppressed people. Christian missionaries there were, though few in number, in the cities of the two coasts, in the long peaceful south, and here and there in the great Hindu centres of the Indo-Gangetic valley. But no mission had dared to penetrate a great Native State under its own law or lawlessness, till now. If intolerance still obstructs the lawful progress of the Canada missionaries in the neighbouring State of Indore, what must have been the prospect in Nagpoor forty-five years ago? Central India, before

Hislop, was almost as unknown a quantity in the counsels of soldiers and administrators, men of science and missionaries alike, as Central Africa before Livingstone. "Unexplored" on the maps of both marked the ignorance and stimulated the curiosity of the rulers and philanthropists from the west. In the twenty years of his missionary career Hislop saw the corrupt State of the Bhosla Raja give way, in 1853, to the transition province of Nagpoor under a commission of British officers; and that, in 1861, to the enlightened, extended and progressive administration of the Central Provinces, as they now are, under a Chief Commissioner. The 70,000 square miles of the effete Raja, with a population of three and a half millions as he first found them to be, he lived to see enlarged into 113,000, with nearly twelve millions. Nagpoor was not much greater than England in size; the Central Provinces are as large as Italy.

Nagpoor, in the wider sense of the word, was the last part of the peninsula of India to submit to an invader, Mohammedan or Hindu, and that not till the Maratha robbers overran its plains little more than a century ago. The waves of Hindu-Aryan settlers as they rolled south to Ceylon in the epic age, from Solomon to Homer, passed by on either side the gloomy forests and the central ridges and table-lands, to which the blacker aborigines were driven, being described as worse than wild beasts. There are two Indias, physical and ethnic,—the northern, Aryan, or Himalayan, with the Indo-Gangetic valley at its base, which we call the Hindu land, or Hindustan; and the southern, Dravidian, or Dekhan, where the original Turanian peoples have held their own against their conquerors, and in the extreme south have already yielded a rich harvest to the Christian Church.

The Central Provinces, of which Nagpoor city is the capital, form the northern wall of this Dravidian India. Their

hills and plains are to the Dekhan what the Himalaya are to Hindustan. In their uplands all the great peninsular rivers rise, a few rolling westward like the Tapti and Narbada, the nobler streams descending eastward into the Bay of Bengal, like the Mahanadi and Godavari. If we approach from the north we rise out of the Indo-Gangetic valley into a new land differing in many respects from that we have left, by a series of terraces divided from each other by these mighty rivers and fertile plains. Resting on — (1) the Vindhya plateau, we have the "middle land" of the Aryan Hindus behind us, and the Narbada river at our feet. We descend into (2) its plain dominated by Jabalpoor, the northern capital of the provinces, and rise to the main table-land of (3) the Satpoora plateau which, from an elevation of 2000 feet, sends up peaks with sanitaria above the fever limit of the tropics. Then, continuing south, we reach (4) the great Nagpoor plain, with its well-watered rice-fields lying between the Wardha and Waenganga feeders of the Godavari which form it, and between the present main line of railway from Bombay to Calcutta and the Nagpoor branch, which is being continued by a shorter route to the eastern metropolis to supersede the former for rapid through traffic. In the plains are the enriching coal and iron fields which Hislop did much to reveal. Eastward, but dipping below the plateau, is (5) the Chatteesgarh plain, "the land of threshing floors," whose surplus grain the advancing railway carries to famine-threatened peoples, and whose tribes and tongues he more than any other man brought within the ken of civilisation. Truly a noble land, beautiful, as well as teeming with resources, to which Captain J. Forsyth, in his delightful book *The Highlands of Central India*, has for the first time done justice, when, with the woodman's axe sportsman's rifle, and a heart full of sympathy with the simple people, he explored its forests and settled its land

revenue, only to be cut down by its malarious fever at the early age of thirty-three.

In the course of generations a province so physically formed and situated must become the meeting-place of races, languages and customs. The aboriginal Gonds alone offered a tempting field to the civiliser and the student, but it was not till Hislop came that their language was reduced to writing. Their history is for ever impressed on the country in the name *Nag*poor, which marks the serpent-worship of these *Nag*bansi or serpent-descended chiefs. As the Mohammedan invaders of the eleventh century pressed the Hindu Rajpoots south, these introduced into the central plateaux of the Satpooras the higher civilisation, the architectural ruins of which still excite the wonder of the explorer. By the time these immigrants came to be absorbed by the more numerous Gonds, the Mohammedan wave had rolled up to and around them, and Akbar made his consolidating hand felt among them. The prospering Gond-Rajpoot families which had not been Brahmanised now fell under Islam, leaving the pure demon-worshipping savages to denser forests and higher valleys. The Christian Church, in apathetic ignorance, allowed the two debasing cults to do unchecked what it was not to awake to for a century at least; just as it had done when the young Arab Mohammed saw its corruptions and wove out of them and out of Judaism the Suras of the Koran.

When, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Mussulman power itself broke up in India, and chaos seemed to be at hand, one at least of the old Gond dynasties became strong again for a time. But as the years rolled on the Marathas and the British came face to face as rivals for the supremacy in India. The great Sivaji's rapidly-formed and loosely-constructed empire came to be represented by four successors, who parcelled out Western and Central India.

The Gaikwar of Baroda, Sindia, and Holkar still exist as feudatories whom we saved from the wreck of empire. The fourth, the Bhoslas of Nagpoor, strong enough at one time to hold Orissa and threaten Calcutta itself till we bought them off, were not so wise, and Hislop saw the last of the dynasty die, an exhausted debauchee without a successor.

This was the character of the Hindu State into which he came, and in the darkness and difficulties of which he worked during the first eight years of his Indian experience. A century before his arrival the peasant-born Raghoji Bhosla, at the head of robber bands of Marathas, had made himself master of the land right across India from Ajanta to the Bay of Bengal, between the rivers Narbada and Godavari. Making the Gond city, Nagpoor, his capital he at first ruled in the name of the Gond sovereign, like other mayors of the palace. For half a century he and his son Madhoji governed as well as the best feudal soldiers of the East have ever done, that is, they protected the revenue-paying cultivators from whom they had sprung, and they kept their officers in terror by a system of espionage and cruelty. But the young Raghoji II. foolishly came into conflict with Wellesley at the battle of Assye, and after other disasters he signed away Orissa and nearly half his territory to the East India Company. His imbecile successor was murdered by a cousin, Apa Saheb, who, after agreeing to subsidise a British force and keep up a contingent of 5000 cavalry and infantry, suddenly attacked the Resident on Sitabaldi Hill, was repulsed by an act of daring bravery, ceded more territory in lieu of the subsidy and contingent, and finally fled.

Raghoji III., a grandson of the second of that name, became Raja under a Resident till 1826, when he came of age. That Resident, succeeding men like Colebrooke and Mountstuart Elphinstone, was the distinguished Richard Jenkins, a student of William Carey's, whose *Report on the*

Territories of the Rajah of Nagpore in 1826 is a famous and was a rare document till reprinted forty years after. This chief was treated with great consideration by Lord William Bentinck and his immediate successors, whose object it was to make him powerful and contented that he might not be tempted to break the peace of India. During his minority our officers had, as usual, protected the people by a settlement of the land revenue, and by agreements with the Gond tributaries. These arrangements he bound himself to continue, and he furthermore agreed to this Article III., which is almost unique in the treaties and engagements made with our feudatories, though it only expresses the spirit of all these engagements more plainly: "If, which God forbid, gross and systematic oppression, anarchy, and misrule, should hereafter at any time prevail, in neglect of repeated advice and remonstrance, seriously endangering the public tranquillity, and placing in jeopardy the stability of the resources whence his Highness discharges his obligations to the Honourable Company, the British Government reserves to itself the right of reappointing its own officers to the management of such district or districts of the Nagpore territory in his Highness's name, and for so long a period as it may deem necessary, the surplus receipts, after defraying expenses, to be paid into the Raja's treasury." Raghoji III., on the whole, observed this condition till he died at the end of 1853 without a son or an adopted child. Then Lord Dalhousie incorporated with the East India Company's territories, the State "which had in 1818 been forfeited by the treachery and hostility of Apa Saheb, had been declared to belong to the British Government by right of conquest, had been conferred by free gift on Raghoji, his heirs and successors, by the treaty of 1826, and had now lapsed to the British Government by default of heirs." A strange light will be cast on all this by the events of Stephen Hislop's career.

Even when Central India was overrun by Maratha armies and Pindari brigands, and when the State of Nagpoor was the scene of oppression and duplicity before the treaty, an attempt was made and quietly continued for years to tell the Hindus and Gonds the good news of God. So early as 1810 Lieutenant, afterwards Colonel, Moxon took pity on the people. When in charge of the Raja's troops in the eastern district of Chatteesgarh, and afterwards as commandant of the Resident's Body Guard at the capital, he regularly addressed the Arab and Afghan troopers and sepoys as well as the Marathi-speaking peasantry on Jesus Christ as the only Saviour of sinners. Hearing that Dr. Carey had been for some time preparing a Marathi translation of the Scriptures, he thus wrote to Serampore when applying for portions at least of the work :—

"7*th November* 1810.—The present Raja appears to be of a quiet and peaceable disposition, and might tolerate a new religion. The brother of the Raja and his son Apa Saheb, who is considered as the heir-apparent, are much more attached to Brahmanism. The Raja's kingdom is every year overrun by the Pindaris, who plunder it with impunity. The Gonds, the ancient inhabitants of the country, are quite a distinct people, and live mostly in the hills and jungles. Their mode of life is similar to all hill people. They appear to be much given to drinking, as indeed are also the Marathas. They have a language of their own."

"5*th January* 1811.—The Hindustani New Testament has proved a great blessing, and is listened to with great attention by the several poor Christians. Besides this I have begun to read it to the Jemadar of our escort, also to a Musalman priest, who lives on a hill (Sitabaldi) not far from my bungalow. An old Brahman Pundit also attends.'

By March 1811 the Maratha New Testament was ready, and, in ignorance of Colonel Moxon's action, Mr. Chamberlain, Carey's colleague, whose station was nearest to Central India, urged that they should begin to evangelise it. To complete the providential chain of circumstances Colonel Moxon made

the long and toilsome journey in those days from Nagpoor to Serampore to consult personally with Carey. There, in 1812, he joined the church as a Baptist; was married to Miss Hobson, Carey's niece, as Sir Henry Havelock in similar circumstances afterwards was married to Dr. Marshman's daughter, and returned to his post with a collection of Marathi, Hindustani, and Hindi Scriptures, and a native catechist, Ram Mohun. For some years they prayed and worked, by preaching and teaching and Bible distribution, amid the confusion and excitement which ended in Apa Saheb's attack on Sitabaldi. Nagpoor, wrote Dr. Carey, when reviewing the year 1817, "at which one person has been baptized, has been in a state of alarm for some time on account of the Pindaris, or predatory hordes who have long been the terror of this part of India; and in these two months past the attack of the Raja of Nagpoor on the British Resident and the escort stationed there, has rendered that part quite the seat of war. The Lord has preserved our much-valued friend Moxon with his family, however, in a way that demands our warmest gratitude. It is probable that after peace and tranquillity have been restored there will be a fairer field opened for missionary labour than before." One Gond, Pykoo, helped the convert to make the first translation of the Gospels into that language, but it does not seem to have been published.

When Colonel Moxon and his wife retired and the Serampore Mission ceased, they kept up daily intercession for the people of Central India, and especially for the two districts in which they had begun the work, Chatteesgarh and Nagpoor. In both they saw and rejoiced at the answer, when two officials took up the weapons they had wielded so long, the Scottish civil servant of the East India Company, Sir Donald M'Leod, in the former, and the English military officer, Sir William Hill, in the latter. The result of the faithful con-

tendings of the three from 1810, with a break of a few years, to 1845, was the arrival of Stephen Hislop and the foundation of the present Central India Mission of the Free Church of Scotland. Hislop, whose first step had been to trace out the action of these early pioneers, thus wrote:—

"I saw two letters from Colonel W. Moxon, at Barnstaple, in England, addressed to Mr. Henry Anton, assistant in the Revenue Department, Bombay, the one letter dated 26th December 1846, the other 10th December 1847. In the former he says: 'My dear wife and myself take great delight in hearing of the blessed increase of the kingdom of Christ in India, especially in the parts where you are connected. The good news you have informed me of at Nagpoor, and in a former letter of the German Mission to Karanjia, near Amarkantak, I feel very thankful to you for, as I am assured the Lord has most graciously answered my oft-repeated prayers for Nagpoor and Chatteesghar, where I lived so happily for many years in much enjoyment of the grace of God in my soul. Your account of the two Tamil men at Kamthi and the firm way they acted amidst persecution, also the noble confession of the Desai of Sisavo, who gave up his landed property, etc., for Christ, gave us much delight. If there is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth, surely we ought to rejoice here below; for we, poor sinners, are more deeply interested than the angels in heaven. I will ever pray, "Good Lord, send now prosperity." I like very much what your friend Mr. Clarkson the missionary writes, that he had excluded from communion all who adhered to their caste, for while such were allowed to remain every evil and lack of discipline would have been the consequence of it. I could wish to be with you again assisting in the Lord's vineyard around you; but my age, sixty-seven, and my increasing infirmity of deafness would render me quite incapable of it. The Lord has given me other work in which I may serve Him as a priest unto God by continual prayer in the spirit for the coming of His kingdom.'"

Donald M'Leod, of the M'Leods of Assynt, was born at Calcutta of a Huguenot mother, when his father was adding lustre to the Bengal Engineers. After a happy childhood with "Aunt Kitty" at Geanies, and busy days at the Edinburgh High School and at the Putney School, where Lord Canning was his companion, he went out to India with John Lawrence, his life-

long comrade. At Monghyr, though a Presbyterian, he came under the influence of the man who led Henry Havelock to Christ, the Rev. A. Leslie, and like Moxon he joined the Baptist Church. "I have now been freed from despondency and gloominess of spirits to which, for the five previous years, I was continually a martyr," he wrote. For the next forty years—till, on retiring from the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Panjab, he was killed on the underground railway in London, when hurrying to preside at a missionary meeting—he lived only to do good. He gave his all to India. One of his Hindu clerks he sent to Dr. Duff's college, where, under the teaching there and M'Leod's example, he became Christ's and did good service as the Rev. Behari Lal Singh of the Presbyterian Church of England's Mission. "If all Christians were like Sir Donald M'Leod there would be no Hindus or Mohammedans," said another of his native subordinates. "There were two *ferishtas* (angels) among the English in the Panjab, Sir Donald M'Leod and Reynell Taylor," was the saying.

When sent by Lord William Bentinck to the northern districts of the Central Provinces he explored the glorious highlands of the Satpoora range, and his sympathies flowed out to their simple and untutored Gonds. Whether at Jabalpoor or Seoni he did not cease to care for all the natives, and especially for their highest interests. He visited Calcutta chiefly "to make known our claims to the religious world here, and to invite attention to the urgency of our wants; for, insulated as we are among native states it is surely the more incumbent on us to kindle that spark which may shine forth as a light to lighten the Gentiles." He saw in the more rapid evangelisation of the casteless aborigines of India the means of securing nuclei, around which the weaker Hindu proselytes who have to sacrifice so much might gather for strength, as the foundations of the one Church of India are being laid. So he determined himself to create

and support missons to the Gonds and Kols, from Sagar district, which for this reason he refused to leave for a higher appointment, through Belaspore and Chatteesgarh to Chutia Nagpoor, by which very route the main line of railway from Bombay to Calcutta is now being made. "I have almost got a promise that two or more German missionaries sent out by the Basel Society, and whom the Russians have compelled to quit Tabreez, will be sent here." They failed him, and he applied to the late Pastor Gossner of Berlin, who, after expulsion from Bavaria because he had ceased to be a priest in the Church of Rome, and from Russia, became from Berlin the evangelical reformer who revived the foreign missionary spirit of Franke and the Pietists in the fatherland.

In 1841 Gossner sent to Donald M'Leod, then at Jabalpoor, a missionary band of five artisans and peasants with an apothecary, at the head of whom he placed the experienced Rev. J. Loesch, who had been a Basel Missionary in South India. The seven, some of them with wives and children, explored Gondwana right up the great Narbada river to its source in the "waters of immortality," Amarkantak hill, 3500 feet high, the centre of Gond reverence and Hindu pilgrimage. At Karanjia village, sixteen miles to the west of the hill which now belongs to the native State of Rewah, and in the British district of Belaspore where Moxon had toiled and prayed so long,—though in ignorance of that fact —Donald M'Leod's Mission pitched their tents and bega their farm settlement on the Moravian plan which had the first tempted Carey. All was full of promise; the peo were kind, the authorities were fair, the land was fertile, t climate was almost European. The water supply only w bad. But it is not so that the foundations at least of tropical mission are laid, to grow up into a temple of t living God and assimilate all around. Cholera swept awa all the inexperienced Germans save two, who were too weak

bury their dead, and could hardly persuade the panic-stricken Gonds to do it. The mind of one of the survivors gave way. For both a home was found with Stephen Hislop at Kamthi, where William Bartels and James Lechler soon passed away amid the love of brethren. Pastor Gossner sent out the good Ziemann who laboured long at Ghazipore at Sir Donald's expense; and many other missionaries who have brought thousands of the allied Kol tribe in the north-east into the kingdom of the Christ.

Such were the pioneer missions of Colonel Moxon and Sir Donald M'Leod, from Serampore and from Germany, in the heart of India. The first had one baptized convert; the second did not exist long enough for the mastery of the language; but who shall say that they were in vain? It is not so that critics of the operations of war reason when a vast province like Upper Burma is first annexed, then slowly subjugated after a terrific loss of our best blood and treasure, then gradually civilised and trained through centuries for self-government. The *Gazette* showers honours on the survivors of the subjugation; and the journals justify the new financial burdens which it lays on the empire. And it is well, whether as in Asia the missionary follows the soldier of civilisation, or as in South and East Africa he sees the soldier and the teacher pass in after him. When Stephen Hislop came to found a mission on right lines he could no more trace the results of his predecessors' labours than Carey could in Bengal. But they both rejoiced to believe that, without these missionaries before the dawn, and the prayer and sacrifice of the officers who yearned that they might have worthy successors, their own success would have been neither possible nor so immediate.

Sir William Hill was worthy to be ranked with Moxon and M'Leod. The youngest son of the Honourable Daniel Hill of Antigua, he went out to Madras as a Company's

cadet in 1821, a thoughtless boy of sixteen. He passed unscathed through the fever and the fighting of the first war in Burma, when Judson was pent up in the vilest prison of Ava. On one occasion he was isolated at the head of 400 European and a few native soldiers in the town of Pegu, and surrounded by a Burman force to the number of 8000. Four times he sallied forth and drove off his assailants, and he held the place till he was relieved. After a visit home, and marriage, Captain Hill and his young wife were stationed at Kamthi, the British cantonment and large town nine miles north-east of Nagpoor, where there has long been a first-class brigade command under Madras. The young couple gave themselves up to the amusements of a large military community, showing no sympathy with the few who were of Moxon's set there and at Sitabaldi and Nagpoor. Mrs. Hill fell sick, and learned to see the realities of existence as they are when the veil of self and sense is drawn aside for a little. The visits of a lady friend led her to the light of Christ. Recovering, she began at once to care for her own native servants, and to influence the young officers around. When nursing one of the latter in a cholera epidemic, and pointing him to the Lord, the Giver of life, she was seized with the same ruthless and still mysterious disease. Her weakened body gave way to it, but not before she had laid upon her husband the duty of devoting her fortune to the establishment of a Christian Mission to the people of Kamthi and Nagpoor. She sleeps at Jalna.

William Hill first gave himself to the Master, rejoicing in Whom his wife had died, and then proceeded to discharge her trust. He visited many stations, he corresponded with the Church Missionary Society of his own communion, he surveyed the spirit and the work of the various missions already in India. Then, in 1842, he wrote to Dr. John Wilson, of Bombay, though a Presbyterian, promising him, as the man he reverenced

most of all, a sum which he himself had increased to £2500, in the three per cent consols, as the endowment of a Nagpoor Mission. Dr. Wilson, who had just returned from introducing the Irish missionaries to their new field in Kathiawar, gladly reported the offer to the foreign secretary of the Church of Scotland, and urged its acceptance. But in the Scottish struggles of 1842-43, the offer passed unnoticed. The Church of Scotland majority set themselves free from the interference of Parliament, which it strove to undo when too late. Dr. Wilson was himself in Scotland, charged by Captain Hill to repeat the offer and to secure a missionary. Within a month after his arrival in Edinburgh, and after eloquently advocating the mission in the Glasgow Assembly, on the 29th November 1843, the India Mission Committee of the Free Church of Scotland—Rev. Robert Gordon, D.D., convener—passed this resolution :—

"The Committee proceeded to take into their consideration the memorial addressed to the Church by Dr. Wilson, before the disruption, respecting the establishment of a mission to Nagpoor, in Central India, and several communications which had lately been received from India on the same subject; and considering the great importance of commencing missionary operations in that quarter—the renewed offer to this Church, by the gentleman with whom the proposal originated, of £2500 stock, on the condition of the speedy establishment of a mission there—the growing liberality of the members of this Church in the cause of missions, evinced by the late congregational collections—the interest very generally expressed throughout the country respecting the district of Nagpoor—the prospect of co-operation, in connection with the proposed mission, of the missions already formed in the three presidencies of India—and the hope of obtaining local pecuniary assistance to the mission at Nagpoor, and special contributions in this country towards its foundation—they unanimously resolve, in dependence on divine grace, and what appear to them to be the evident leadings of divine providence, to take immediate steps towards the establishment of the proposed mission, by looking out for a duly qualified missionary. And with a view to the particular information of the General Assembly of the Free Church, and of the

Christian public, as to the undertaking, and to secure their approbation and assistance, they request Dr. Wilson to prepare a memorial on the subject for general circulation."

On 22d May 1844, Dr. Gordon reported to the next General Assembly that the result of the first appeal to the friends of Christian Missions was such as to encourage the Free Church not only to continue its foreign operations on the old scale, but to enter new fields. It was unanimously resolved that, considering the munificent offer reported by Dr. Wilson for Nagpoor, and "the lively interest in the missionary cause which had been manifested by the congregations and friends of the Free Church, they were not warranted to decline the offer, and would have painfully disappointed the Christian public if they had." The Assembly then united in a prayer of thanksgiving to God for His marvellous kindness to the Church and Missions, and thereafter agreed to take over a second new mission—that of the Glasgow Missionary Association in Kafraria.

On this Sir William Hill transferred the sum originally offered, with interest raising it to £2674 : 15 : 2, writing thus to Dr. Wilson: "Now is my mind at ease respecting the final appropriation of this money. I thank the Lord that from the time He put into my heart to place the money at your disposal for a mission in these parts, I have had much peace of mind. I was assured that the desire came from God, and His grace has supported me throughout, and enables me to say, 'All things are of Thee, O Lord, and of Thine own have I given Thee.'" Sir Donald M'Leod also gave Dr. Wilson this pledge of his support: "The amount which I shall be able to remit to Nagpoor will usually exceed, and will never fall short of one hundred rupees *per mensem* (D.V.) while I remain in India. There is no object connected with the service of the Lord in this country which I have more at heart, or indeed so much at heart, as contributing to

support and extend the institutions of the Free Church in this country, of late so severely tried and so greatly straitened." Urging that Church to occupy Agra, the capital of the neighbouring North-western Provinces, he added: "You would find a large amount of Christian benevolence aroused, to which at present you have no adequate means of penetrating."

William Hill, Donald M'Leod, John Wilson, and Stephen Hislop were worthy of each other. It was fitting that the Rev. Dr. Wilson should preside at Hislop's ordination by the Free Presbytery of Edinburgh. The place was the great brick church hastily and temporarily run up for the Rev. Dr. Candlish, on the noblest unoccupied site in Edinburgh, on the Castle Terrace, where the college and synod buildings of the United Presbyterian Church now stand. Of all the ritual of the Presbyterian Church — which history has made so severely solemn, but which need never be without the divinest dignity and most artistic reverence—the service of the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, as described by St. Paul, is the most impressive. Having preached from the record of the call of the first missionary to Europe—"After he had seen the vision, immediately we endeavoured to go into Macedonia, assuredly gathering that the Lord had called us for to preach the gospel unto (*lit.* 'to evangelise') them," Acts xvi. 10—the experienced but still young apostle of Western India left the pulpit, and stood surrounded by the many ministers of the Presbytery, with Stephen Hislop kneeling before him in their midst. While he and all the brethren laid their hands on or towards the bowed head, he offered up to God the prayer of ordination, invoking the Holy Spirit to descend upon and dwell in the man who had just before given his audible assent to the great doctrines of Christianity, and had signed his name to the Westminster Confession of Faith, and spiritual and freshly-historical documents of the Free Church of Scotland. The act of ordination closed with the

presiding minister and brethren, and lay elders also at this stage, giving the young missionary the right hand of fellowship. Then, returning to the pulpit, Dr. Wilson delivered to him an ordination charge, and thereafter addressed the people, closing the whole service with praise, and the threefold benediction revealed to the first missionary after Abraham, as he led the Israel of Jehovah from the darkness of Egypt to the possession of the land of promise.

The ordination charge was the outcome of John Wilson's sixteen years' experience as the most successful missionary in Western and Central India. It described and enforced the ideal which in his twenty years' career thereafter—so prematurely cut short—Stephen Hislop did as much to realise as Wilson himself. The charge links together the two men, older and younger, who in all respects, save the greater fluency of utterance which marked the elder, were alike, in pure self-consecration to Christ; in love for the natives of India, and especially the Maratha Hindus and oppressed jungle tribes; in literary scholarship and culture; in such devotion to the physical sciences as a conscience tender in duty to the call to evangelise in season and out of season allowed them to show. From that September afternoon, in the mellow glories of an Edinburgh autumn, lighting up the Castle rock above and gardens below with a wealth of almost tropical colour, some of the sentences echo down to us of the next generation after nigh half a century, and to the generations yet to come.

THE WORK OF AN INDIAN MISSIONARY: AN ORDINATION CHARGE.

"My dear Friend and Brother—You have been solemnly set apart to the ministry of Christ by prayer and the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery; and it now devolves upon me, as in providence the organ of the Presbytery on this occasion, to direct your attention for a little, with all humility and consciousness of personal unworthiness, to the peculiar circumstances in which you are called by

divine providence to maintain the Christian profession, and to exercise the Christian ministry. . . .

"My dear brother, fidelity and exertion are required of you. You have henceforth to maintain your Christian profession, and to exercise your ministry in circumstances of peculiar trial and difficulty. In a few short days you must cut asunder the most tender of those ties which bind you to this the land of your nativity, the land of your fathers' graves, the land most hallowed in your affections for its gospel privileges and enjoyments, and its sufferings in the cause of Christ. You must bid a long, and possibly a final, adieu to your kindred and friends whom you have endearingly known in the flesh and will ever love in the spirit, to those who have hitherto been your companions in the Christian course, by whose instructions you have been edified and comforted, and by whose example you had hoped to be guided and encouraged. You must go down upon the great waters, and through their waves and billows and over the sandy and burning desert, you must be carried to the great country which has been chosen as the scene of your labours. There you will find yourself at once among people of a strange countenance, and strange tongue, and, what is more trying still, of a strange heart; and removed, at the same time, in a great degree from Christian society, sympathy, and assistance. The burning heat of a tropical sun may consume your strength, and enfeeble your exertions, and superinduce premature lassitude, and beget and nourish indolence and various distempers both of mind and body. Beholding the abominable idolatries and cruel and deadly superstitions of the heathen, you will desire to open your lips, and at once to cry aloud in their hearing, pleading the claims of Jehovah, against whom they have revolted, and proclaiming that message of grace of which you are the bearer; but, lo, your tongue is silent and your lips are sealed. Your righteous soul is vexed from day to day with their unrighteous deeds; but you are not even able to ply them with the remonstrance of a faithful Lot. In order to remove your incapacity, you try to catch and imitate their words, but you find yourself in a Babel. You select a few individuals, who have made some progress in education, and you proceed to address them in your own tongue; but you find that from the poverty of their knowledge of it they do not understand you when discoursing on the only theme which excites your interest as capable of benefiting their souls. You sit down deliberately to the study of the native languages; but you are bewildered by their novel structure, harsh pronunciation, and complicated grammar, and you find demands made upon your application

and patience such as have never before been demanded of you. You give lessons in English, to the youth willing to learn; but years pass away before you observe in your pupils a tolerable proficiency. You make inquiry into the native religions, and you find them vast and gigantic systems of iniquity, instead of the feeble and fugitive conceits which you have imagined them to be. At last, in the good providence of God, you commence your labours; and actuated principally by curiosity, the people gather around you, perhaps, asking one another, What will this babbler say? A few of them are seemingly aroused by your discourse, but their excitement does not settle down in holy impression, and the moment after they have been sitting apparently devout hearers, you see them prostrating themselves before the shrine of a false god, or dancing round an image, literally mad on their idols. You open a school and instruct the young; but while you are busy with them there, the parents and the Gooroo are busy at home perverting those truths which you deliver, and striving assiduously, and alas successfully, to close the door of the young heart against their admittance. You sow the seed with a liberal hand; but it falls by the wayside, on the shallow soil, or among the thorny and choking bushes. A blade here and there at last makes its appearance; but you tremble lest the pestilential blasts from the marshes of heathenism should destroy its vitality or stop its growth. Travailing, as it were, in birth till you behold your children in the faith, you seem, when they are before you, to be weighed down with parental cares and anxieties. You found a native church; but it remains long in an infantile state, and but feebly does the word of God sound forth from it throughout the province in which you dwell. The partial success which you have experienced in your labours is offensive to some of your own countrymen, who like not to be disturbed in their own carelessness, and to have around them the work and Spirit of God witnessing against them. It hurts the pride of native caste and family, arouses the fury of priestly zeal, and forms the subject of anxious deliberation in Panchâyats, and Sabhâs, and Sanhedrims, and other conclaves of darkness. The little success which you experience is no sooner reported to the Christian world, than, instead of calling forth mere thankfulness to God, it leads to proud congratulation in the church, and intoxicates the steadiest friends of the missionary cause. Instead of crying aloud in your behalf in prayer, they sing the song of victory and triumph. They dream that the armies of the aliens are flying before you as the champion of the truth, and that Satan himself is about to abandon his throne on your potent challenge; while *you* feel as if you were about

to be overwhelmed by the foe, and the arch-enemy of souls laughed to scorn the whole band of Christian warriors. You are about to faint in the day of battle; and your companions, cut down by the climate, or the arduous nature of the conflict, fall at your side."

From both missionaries, as from St. Paul and his companions when they entered Europe in obedience to the heavenly vision, the future was lovingly hidden; but what a meaning these passages seem to have now as we read them over the Indian graves of the speaker and the hearer! There is the same pathos in the ordination of every true missionary every year, whether the ritual be that of presbytery or of bishop. Dr. Wilson then gave the following "hints, the results of my own experience and inquiry and observation in India," which we may call the twelve phases of the missionary ideal:—

"(1.) There, where so many barriers, erected by caste and custom, almost totally isolate large masses of the people from a reciprocal influence, an extensive and varied ministration is *specially* incumbent on the messengers of the churches commissioned to labour for its moral regeneration. . . . You will minister both publicly and privately, by conversation, discussion, and preaching, and teaching, and lecturing, and writing, to all classes of the natives.

"(2.) You must devote yourself to the *study of the vernacular languages* of the people. These languages are the readiest key to their hearts. . . . They will 'keep the more silence' when you speak to them in their own language, even though they should be partially acquainted with yours. . . . Even the teacher of English, however zealous and able, labours under a disadvantage when he cannot exhibit the meaning of its vocables and sentences by translation into the language of his pupils. . . .

"(3.) With the study of the language, conjoin that of the *manners, customs, and habits of the people* of India. . . . The knowledge you thus derive will be found to be of immense advantage, as suggesting the least offensive and most engaging deportment and address, and the readiest methods of forming and maintaining an acquaintance with those whose welfare you seek. Remember Him who became all things to all men that He might save some.

"(4.) Of not less importance and demanding perhaps still more application, is the *study of the native religions*, embracing, if possible,

that of the Sanskrit and other dead languages, in which their sacred books are written; and to attend to which languages, it is a powerful motive, that they enter more largely into the composition of the different vernacular languages than Latin into our own mother tongue. I advise you to study the native religions, not that you may set yourself, in the course of your labours, to the hopeless exercise of lopping off every twig and branch of the Upas tree of error, which sheds its baneful influence throughout the length and breadth of the land; but that you may clearly distinguish between the branches and stump, and apply the axe to the very root of the tree. . . . Using aright the test of truth, you may discover what ingredients of a pure patriarchal faith—on which, like Paul at Athens, when he quoted the monumental inscriptions and poems of the Greeks, you may commence your discourse and conduct your argument with something like an appeal to admitted principles—are still to be found in the compounds of heathenism, and capable of being so separated from it, as to give you an opportunity of directing their attention to the great source from which they have been derived. . . .

"(5.) However comprehensive and extensive your ministry may be, it ought to be conducted on the principles of Christian prudence, and as far as possible agreeably to such a *system* as in the main may promise the greatest amount of good. You ought so to dispose of the leaven, that it may most speedily and powerfully affect the mass. . . .

"(6.) Direct your attention to the *Christian and general instruction and education of the young*, with a direct reference to the work both of *enlightenment* and of *conversion*. . . .

"(7.) If 'to the poor the gospel is to be preached,' by education in India, there must be *schools taught through the medium of the native languages*. This is a position from which no advocate of Christian missions can ever be dislodged. We can give our testimony as to the benefits which the vernacular schools which have been instituted, confer upon the people. Though conducted under serious disadvantages, most commonly by unconverted teachers, under the superintendence of, and with regular visits and spiritual instruction by, missionaries and their native assistants they accomplish much good, in giving the parents a suitable demonstration of the interest which is taken by missionaries in their real welfare, in neutralising or mitigating the domestic tuition in heathenism, and communicating that knowledge of the Scriptures of truth which are used in them and of the first principles of our holy faith. . . .

"(8.) *Seminaries of a vastly higher character* are not only desirable

but necessary in India, if we would wish to see the work of the Lord prosper. We must give not only such an education as will be received by the poor, but such an education as will be prized by the rich and middle classes of society, embracing instruction in all those branches of science and literature, which they wish their youth to study, and for proficiency in which alone, they are willing to place their youth under our charge, even at the risk of their conversion through that religious instruction which they know we also impart. . . . *The secular must never be allowed to predominate over, but ever be held in subordination to, the spiritual.* . . . And *you must not overlook the education of the daughters of India.* . . .

"(9.) You will procure the elements of a Sabbath or week-day congregation, small it may be in point of numbers at first, but of immense importance as the commencement of that regular assembling of the people for public worship. But you must carry the gospel without, as well as proclaim its glorious truths to those who will come to listen within. . . . By all classes of religious teachers in India, instruction is usually delivered under the open firmament of heaven, in private houses, or in temporary tabernacles, . . . and the missionary is acknowledged to be merely in the way of his duty when he follows a similar practice. . . .

"(10.) You will doubtless see it to be your duty, as soon as audiences can be procured, to deliver such courses of *public lectures* on the works and ways of God in creation and providence, on literature, and science, and history, and on the claims and purport of the different systems of religion professing to be revelations from God. . . .

"(11.) You will zealously lend your services in the great work of *the circulation of the sacred Scriptures and religious books and tracts in India.* . . .

"(12.) The *converts will demand of you constant instruction, watchfulness, guidance, and kindness;* as early as possible they should be formed into a regular Christian church. . . . I recommend to your attention an admirable little work, entitled, *Thoughts on Propagating Christianity more effectually among the Heathen,* by Dr. Marshman, one of the greatest of Indian missionaries. Our highly honoured and esteemed brother, Dr. Duff, has most eloquently and fully unfolded his views of the economics of Christian missions; and with his works you are already familiar. From our missionary biography much may be learned, and much encouragement derived. . . .

"In the name of this Presbytery, and that of all the friends by whom we are now surrounded, and of the whole Church whose

messenger you are honoured to be, as well as for myself, I affectionately and earnestly bid you God speed."

Then, addressing the congregation on the self-sacrifice of the founders of the Mission, Dr. Wilson thus appealed to all true Christians: "Do these and others like-minded with them, exceed their duty and their privilege? No; they are wise for time and eternity. They are seeking and finding the greatest luxury which a man can enjoy, that of doing good to the souls of men now and yet to be born. When they are far removed from the gold, and glory, and honour of this world, to rest from their labours, their works shall follow them. They will have their reward of grace; and as the generations of Hindus, one after another, are removed likewise from this earthly scene, they will find many from among them—to the accession of their own joy, and the praise of the Redeemer—enter heaven, as saved through those very operations which they have originated and supported, and take their place with that great multitude which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, who, standing before the throne and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes and palms in their hands, cry with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God, which sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb.!! Do you not desire to share in the satisfaction and peace which they now enjoy, and in the glorious prospect which is before them?"

With such a charge in his memory Hislop surveyed the varied peoples of Bombay city, and studied the organisation of what is now the Wilson Missionary College, which was filling again after the panic caused by the baptism of Narayan Sheshadri. The Presbytery of Bombay appointed Rev. Dr. M. Mitchell to accompany him and his wife to Nagpoor, a journey of 600 miles, in those days tedious in time but full of ever new surprise and delight to the observant missionary and naturalist. Having passed from Bombay proper, after an

inspection of the American mission at Ahmednagar, into the State of Haidarabad, he made his first study of the Buddhist, Jain, and Brahmanical sculptured caves of Elura, in the Kailas of which Dr. Wilson had preached Christ thirteen years before. At Ajanta, a little farther on, in the neighbourhood of which the wounded of Wellington's army were received after the battle of Assye, he saw Buddhism alone in its splendour, in some thirty caves with fresco paintings which cover the eight centuries of Gautama Buddha's supremacy in India. As Brahmanism had stamped out Buddhism so did Assye mark, in 1803, the destruction of the confederacy of Marathas based on Brahmanism, which laid all India finally at the feet of the race charged above all others to be the servant of Christ. Descending the pass in the range which divides Jalna and the plateau of the Dekhan from the valley of the Tapti, the missionary party marched slowly eastward through Berar, then oppressed by native rule, now the cotton garden of British India. They preached as they went the glad tidings of the Kingdom, heard for the first time by the villagers and townsfolk. Hislop had his "well-qualified pundit," and every hour increased his stock of Maratha vocables and idioms; but he must have learned more from the practised tongue and accurate scholarship of Dr. Murray Mitchell.

"NAGPOOR, 26*th April* 1845.

"MY DEAREST ROBERT—. . . We advanced at an easy pace moving or halting just as it suited ourselves, and, what was the best of all, we had reason to believe that our heavenly Father was with us, guiding and protecting us. It is, indeed, the greatest of all comforts to be able to realise this, for though whether at home or abroad we feel ourselves secure under the shield of an everlasting love, I think I have been enabled to feel more my dependence on God since I left Britain; and though I often forget the hand that sustains me, still there are seasons when I enjoy very sweet communion with my gracious Preserver and Redeemer. Oh, it is delightful to enter far into the holy of holies, and to have power with God in prayer—to know that

we are standing alone with Jehovah, and that yet there is an Advocate and High Priest, bearing our nature who, in the upper sanctuary, is carrying on the work of intercession for us. Robert, are you cold in devotion? Are the Scriptures seldom read with pleasure? Are you attending to everything else more than to the one thing needful? I trust, my dear brother, this is not now the case. I trust that the period of bondage, when you served God with reserve and through fear, has given place to the cheerful and devoted obedience of a loving son. I cannot say I have attained to this complete enlargement, but I should be rejoiced to hear that you have, as I have, been made fully sensible of the undesirableness of continuing in a state of slavish terror. What a delightful thing it would be for me to join your family circle, and to perceive that spiritual religion was habitual with you as daily food, and that edifying conversation was as natural as worldly discourse. If we ever have the happiness to meet, as I earnestly pray we shall yet, with God's permission, would not you like that it should be as sons of God — brethren in the Lord, visibly reflecting our Father's image? Well, if in God's providence, we are not allowed to see each other in the flesh—and, oh, how many are the warnings we get of our mortality—let us be resigned, and let it be our chief aim to be preparing for joining the General Assembly and Church of the firstborn, where we may meet as members of God's heavenly family, and enjoy communion with one another and the Lamb in the midst of the throne. When that day arrives may we see all around us whom God has given us!

"At Poona we stayed over the Sabbath and preached. James Mitchell there is a very simple diligent missionary. There we engaged a palanquin for Erasma with thirteen bearers—the expense, all the distance from that to this (550 miles), being £8. There also I bought a horse for £20, which, with the daily food and the hire of a hostler, was the amount of my expenditure. Mr. M. Mitchell was also on horseback. We had a numerous retinue of servants—eight or nine besides the palanquin men. We had also eight camels with their attendants. We carried our beds and tables, chairs and cooking utensils, which were in daily request. We travelled about twenty miles each day, excepting Sabbaths—ten miles in the morning and ten in the evening. During the first half of the road we had travellers' bungalows to rest in during the heat of the day and sleep in at nights; but during the last half we had to buy two tents—one large for us, and a smaller for the servants—which we carried about with us and erected under the shade of a tree. In the morning we generally set out before dawn and

travelled for two hours after sunrise, *i.e.* till 8 A.M. In the middle of the day no European, whose constitution is not thoroughly acclimated, dares to venture out. The sun's rays are so powerful that they give him a headache in the course of half a minute. In the evening we started generally between four and five, when the heat begins to lessen in the cold season. (In the hot season, however, the heat of the day continues till 10 P.M.) As part of every journey was in the dark, we always had a torch-bearer, who went before the palki, and showed us riders the stones and the holes in the path. You may imagine that we took it very leisurely. The roads at the beginning were pretty good, like a dusty parish road in Scotland without hedges or walls. The country was generally upland hill ridges. But the greater part of the way was by a track, which one bullock-cart had followed after another without much regard to eligibility, though sometimes it happened that each cart had chosen a track for itself and left us doubtful which one we ought to select. The whole route was through a bare country, devoid of long grass or much foliage. Sometimes, however, it was fertile enough, producing extensive fields of cotton, which grows in a deep black soil. The cotton is a low growing shrub, consisting of little more than two switches branching from each other. Occasionally the road lay through jungle, which is very much like a copse plantation, but always containing some beautiful trees—one with scarlet papilionaceous blossoms is very magnificent; its name, I think, is Butea. Leguminose trees were most frequent (on the coast it is the palm tribe that flourishes). Acacias, tamarinds, etc., were abundant. On the road we saw wild boars, monkeys, antelopes, peacocks, and paroquets innumerable; no tigers or cobras; scorpions are very frequent. They drop down, as do also lizards, from between the ceiling and roof of the house, and creep along the carpet of a room.

"We went some marches to see the caves of Elura and Ajanta, which are very remarkable works of art. The former are more extensive, consisting of excavations made perhaps at different times by Brahmans, Buddhists, and Jainas. The Brahmans and Buddhists follow two different systems of religion; the Jainas are reckoned an offshoot of the Buddhists. The temple caves are certainly very imposing, very dismal, most of them in ruins and the abode of large bats. At Ajanta the excavations are exclusively by Buddhists, who have covered the ceiling and walls with fresco work, representing the customs of the people, and too often seems fitted to minister to the lust of the age. The whole that I saw gave me a great insight into the mythology of the people, but there was much to disgust and to excite

compassion. The Hindu temples, whether above or under ground, are very dark, meet emblem of the nature of their superstition and the state of the worshippers. We were nearly six weeks on our march.

"The first place we settled at was at Sitabaldi, which is about three miles on the Bombay side of the native city of Nagpoor. Sitabaldi is the station of some European artillery and a regiment of native infantry. Here the Resident, or political agent of the H.E.I.C., has fixed his quarters, and hence he maintains a regular intercourse with the Raja's court. The friend with whom we took up our abode is Dr. Eyre, a brother of Mrs. Montague Stanley, whom I visited at Rothesay. He is a naturally sagacious man, and of deep experience in Christian life. There are few characters you can conceive more consistent than his. In India we frequently meet with the matured saint. It makes us feel our inexperience. In the house of this sincere disciple we spent several weeks, and it was there that all the plans for the future conduct of the Mission were laid. Captain Hill, who lives at Kamthi, ten miles on the Calcutta side of Nagpoor, with whom I am now living, joined us at Sitabaldi, while we were seeking divine direction in our deliberations. He is a sweet Christian, not so able as Dr. Eyre, but fully more bland and benevolent. Erasma and I like him very much. He has been a believer only about four years—his wife, now deceased, having been in Christ before him by about a year. It was his wife's fortune, and at her request that he devoted the sum for the establishment of a Mission here.

"One of the first things determined on was to fix the head-quarters of the Mission, which was settled in favour of Sitabaldi. At the same time operations are to be commenced at Kamthi, which is a large military cantonment, with a population of two or three thousand soldiers, native and European. The Queen's regiment which is lying there at present is the Scots Fusiliers, many of whom are my countrymen. They would fain have me to preach to them, but as my usual residence will be at Sitabaldi, I prefer preaching to the Europeans immediately around me. At the same time I hold a prayer meeting in Kamthi once a week, and visit the military hospitals, which occupies a whole day. I have a prayer meeting also at Sitabaldi besides preaching twice on Sabbaths. Of my hearers there are generally the half officers, the half men. My personal acquaintance with the latter class is not very extensive, as, with the exception of the hospitals, I have not many opportunities of mixing with them. I am necessarily brought into closer contact with the former class, for they are the only society I can have in private.

Besides Eyre and Hill we have two pious officers at Sitabaldi, one of whom is just leaving for England. At Kamthi besides Hill there are Major Wynch (a brother of Lady Sale's) and Captain Penny, who are both, especially the latter, eminent Christians. There are others, true disciples, but younger in years and experience. . . ."

His three weeks' residence in Bombay had, all unconsciously to himself, left behind it this impression of his character on Robert Nesbit, the greatest of Marathi scholars, and most saintly of men, little given to eulogy: "In the selection of Mr. Hislop you have indeed enjoyed the guidance and blessing of the great Head of the Church. His established piety, his enlightened zeal, his calm and steady purpose and patience, his sweet disposition and temper, his powerful intellect, and his habits of substantial thought and strict reasoning, mark him out as peculiarly fitted, not only for missionary work in general, but for commencing and carrying on the operations of an untried sphere." Is this to be justified in the coming years? It is one of the many illustrations which marked his whole life from his boyhood, that this quiet lover of silence and keen observer possessed the power, given only to ruling spirits, of raising all who came under his influence. He lived in the Spirit, he walked in the Spirit, while he never ceased to be himself; and hence there rayed out from him an influence which drew men to his Master.

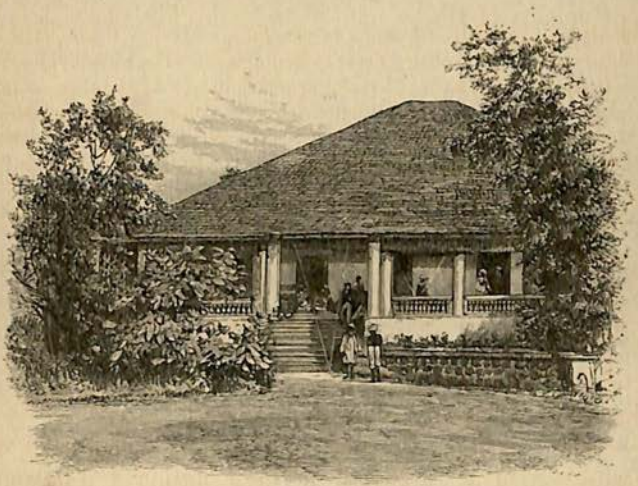
CHAPTER III

FOUNDING THE NAGPOOR MISSION

Joy of Sir William Hill—Christian officers form a Mission Board—The vernacular languages—Hislop's spiritual equipment—The Kalanki dissenters—Hinduism and Islam—Natural history letter to his brother—Kamthi school—First Scottish communion service—Conversion of an officer—Opposition of the episcopal chaplain and others—Hislop's defence—Institution founded in Nagpoor—Taking the bull by the horns—First Tamil converts—First fruit of the Eastern Marathas—Rev. Dr. Hunter arrives as colleague—Tour ninety miles south to Chanda—The cotton and coal fields of Central India—Ignorance a barrier in the way of Christianity—First Telugu baptism—Story of Kotlingam, the carpenter's son—First girls' school in Nagpoor—The second Perumal and his family—Hislop in the prospect of death from hydrophobia—Journey to Madras in the hot season—Standard of baptism—Historic discovery of tertiary fossils—Educational missions truly evangelising—Return by Calcutta and Jabalpoor to Nagpoor.

WHEN, on the 13th February 1845, Stephen Hislop and his wife settled at Sitabaldi, the civil station a mile and a half to the west of the great city of Nagpoor, Sir William Hill hurried in to welcome them from Kamthi, the military station, ten miles away, on the north-east side of the city. "The ardent desire of our hearts," wrote that officer, "has in the Lord's good time now come to pass, and we are called upon to render thanks to our God for having given ear to our supplications; as on this blessed occasion the times of refreshing have come from the presence of the Lord upon us, and upon this part of the heathen land in which we dwell." The first step was to form the officers mentioned in Mr. Hislop's letter—Major Wynch, Captain Hill, Captain Penny, and Dr.

Eyre—into a financial board to organise and manage, with the missionary, the secular affairs of the new settlement. The Christian residents at Sitabaldi and Kamthi subscribed £240 a year for the mission, and in consideration of the English services to be conducted on Sunday and Wednesday evening. The "warm-hearted" Scottish soldiers, grateful for the ministrations of one who virtually became their chaplain, and delighted to visit them when in hospital, volun-



STEPHEN HISLOP'S MISSION BUNGALOW.

teered their offerings to the mission. Sir Donald M'Leod gave his promised aid on account of the two German evangelists, now increased to three by a new arrival, who acted as catechists and preachers to the natives, until a native Christian agency could be called and trained. In a short time Mr. Hislop secured a bungalow at the foot of Sitabaldi Rock, facing the city, and that continued to be the mission-house all his time, after which it was acquired by the railway from Bombay.

The first practical question which faced the infant mission was that of the vernacular languages. Which was to be first mastered? In this meeting-place of the races of northern and eastern, western and peninsular India there was a Babel of tongues. Apart from the *lingua franca* of Oordoo or Hindustani, common to all India since the Mohammedan invasion, and from the official Persian in which the business of the courts was carried on till Hislop got that abuse reformed, there were four great languages spoken by the four chief elements of the population. Marathi had spread westward with the conquering race, and promised to become the predominant Hindu tongue. Hence Hislop had begun to learn it in Bombay, and did not cease until he mastered its most obscure idioms. Gondi was the tongue of the aborigines in the uplands; from his first tour he devoted himself to its study, reduced it to writing, and prepared what would have been a notable work on its folk-lore, had he lived to complete the work, which Sir Richard Temple edited after his death. These two were the right and left hands of his direct ministry to the natives. Less important to the Nagpoor mission then, and diminishing in value every year since, were Tamil, Telugu, and Hindi. The two first—the exquisitely soft tongues of south India—were spoken chiefly by the Madras troops and servants, who formed the largest proportion of the 50,000 inhabitants of Kamthi. The last, the most extensively spoken of all the Hindu languages, is the speech of the Gangetic districts to the north of Nagpoor. His knowledge of Marathi gave Mr. Hislop as much experience of Hindi also as his duties demanded. But from the first, and all through his career, this variety of languages, of families so different as the Aryan Marathi and Hindi, and the Dravidian Tamil, Telugu, and Gondi, increased the toil and the difficulties of the missionaries.

The spiritual equipment with which the young missionary

entered on his apostolate may be imagined from this letter to Professor Duns, the friend to whom he had always laid bare his soul as to no other. He writes after seven months' experience of India :—

"SITABALDI, 10*th July* 1845.—. . . When I think of all that the Redeemer has done for sinners, I do feel astonished that I should remain insensible to the amount of His love. And when I reflect on the freeness of His salvation, and on my own career of carelessness and ingratitude, there is nothing on which I can place any confidence save His finished and meritorious work. My only resource is, as a condemned, helpless, hopeless sinner, to flee into the city of refuge. But what I had to complain of was that while I saw my need of a Saviour, and was, as I trust, relying on Him, my faith was little else than an inoperative principle. It is true I had begun to feel the evil of sin and the purifying influence of the Gospel a little more than I had done before; but your letter, when it arrived, at once pointed out the cause of all the previous coldness and indifference, and the source of the then felt deficiency in love and zeal, in ascribing them to a neglect of secret communion with God. Yes, my dear friend, I will confess to you that herein I was very unmindful,—I was a comparative stranger to my closet,—and lived far away from God, to whom I considered myself brought nigh by the blood of reconciliation. Nothing could be more infatuated, nothing could more clearly show the corruption of the human heart or the success of Satan's temptations, but I hope I am now enabled to perceive my error, and to detect the desperate deceitfulness of the old man and the old serpent. I am convinced there is nothing equal to that earnest and continued wrestling with God as a means of obtaining blessings from the Most High. Without it, though we may draw out a miserable existence, there is no spiritual health, no soul prosperity; but with it we are honourable as sons of the King of Heaven,—as princes having power to prevail with God. And if we prevail with God, we shall also prevail with men. Might in prayer is indeed the true secret of ministerial success.

"In this country we feel the peculiar helplessness of human instrumentality. We come in contact with Hindus prepossessed with the superstition of ages; with Mussulmans filled with contempt for every form of belief but their own; and with Christians who have learned to look upon all religions as alike. A minister of the gospel

here, who feels the responsibility of his office, would have reason still more than at home to give himself up to despair, did he not know that God through Christ can render him sufficient for all things. This is his consolation: As thy day is, so shall thy strength be. Oh, for greater faith to appropriate the promise of God to myself. Then I should have access to all the divine fulness of grace. There is no want in Him—no want of gifts, and no want of willingness to give. The want is in ourselves—a want of room to receive. We think ourselves full enough already; we are straitened in our desires. My dear friend, when you have nearness of approach to the mercy seat, do not forget the case of one, who is placed in one of the arduous posts of the battlefield, but who feels himself little qualified to make head against the formidable host that opposes him. The very idea of living in the neighbourhood of a city without a single Christian inhabitant is almost overwhelming. But when I enter within its walls, and pass through its streets, I am still more forcibly taught the dreadful alienation of the human heart from God. Nagpoor is indeed a place of darkness, and full of the habitations of cruelty. In that part of it near the Raja's palace, you might hear of criminals beaten and starved to death; in another quarter, while you would encounter herds of lazy oxen suffered to wander about at large, which it is accounted a work of the greatest merit to feed, you might perceive the body of a human being allowed by his fellow-citizens—his proud and callous-hearted fellow-citizens—to lie where the soul had left it, lest some pollution should be contracted in the attempt to remove it. There is much need of the prayers of all God's people in behalf of this land, and much need of all your efforts to enlighten your congregations on their duty to the heathen. I know that we cannot be too earnest; for oh, it is a great work. It is sad to think that there is not a single herald of the Cross within 400 miles of this station—an extent of country 800 miles broad, and upwards of that in length, without a solitary missionary to tell the perishing population of the mercy of God and the love of the Saviour. And yet it is encouraging to know that the work of enlightenment and conversion must go on, for it is of God. Before His almighty power the strongholds of Satan will be overthrown — a system of error, the growth of centuries, will be uprooted.

"Even now Hinduism is not flourishing. So long as the heart is unchanged there will always, it is true, be enough of aversion to the truth; but God, by past convulsions of states, and by the present silent process of diffusing knowledge, which have both contributed to

the subversion of Brahmanical influence, seems to be preparing the way for the introduction of His own glorious gospel. The change which has been effected in this State since I came here is very surprising. In the metropolis upwards of 2000 families, dissatisfied with the superstitions of their forefathers, have within the last few months forsaken the temples and their idol-worship and adopted a purer faith. What their creed really is it is difficult to say, and, indeed, the whole affair is wrapt in mystery; but doubtless it is an important movement—one in which I take a very lively interest. It reminds me of the reformation that is at present going on in Germany, which seems to have been as little looked for eighteen months ago. One of our German brethren here comes from the district where the new secession from the ranks of Romanism has taken place, and certainly he was much astonished to hear of the event. I was in like manner surprised to learn about the rise of the Kalankis in our own neighbourhood (such is the name of the Hindu reformers), and not the least wonderful circumstance connected with it is that they principally consist of Brahmans. It grieves me to feel that I have no access to them. One reason is that I do not sufficiently know their language yet; but, even though I had acquired a perfect knowledge of it, there is another cause which prevents my having any intercourse with them. Though they are so numerous in the city, yet ask any of the people whom you meet about the new sect and they plead entire ignorance. The Kalankis conceal their opinions as much as they can through fear of the Raja, and their neighbours do not like to speak on the subject lest they should be suspected of heresy also. I trust that the spirit of inquiry will spread more and more, and become more decided; and who knows but that the Lord may have much people in the city of Nagpoor.

"Till recently I have conducted divine service to the Europeans twice a day on Sabbaths since I came here. I am now giving more of my attention to the native languages, the proper study of which is inconsistent with the preparation of two discourses in a week. I, however, continue my prayer meetings, of which I have two during the week; as also my visits to the military hospitals, which I hope are profitable to all concerned. There is much need of an increase of our instrumentality at this station. The German brethren, of whom there are three associated with me, are not like one of my countrymen,—they are uneducated young men, simple and inexperienced as children in the ways of the world, and do not command in the eyes of either the natives or the British the same respect as a Scotsman or Englishman. . . ."

At the very outset this new sect filled him with a hope destined never to be realised any more than was Duff's regarding the similar Khartabhojas of Bengal. A Mohammedan of the nearest Bombay district, Khandesh, had begun to propagate a modified Islam. To the Hindus he represented it as the close of the iron age for which they longed, and the opening of the golden age of the Kalki, Kalanki, or white horse, on which the tenth and last *avatara* of Vishnu is to appear with a drawn sword, blazing like a comet, for the destruction of evil and restoration of purity. A great many families in Nagpoor and its neighbourhood, chiefly of the Brahmanical and other high castes, soon embraced Kalankism. In their secret assemblies they were in the habit of showing their contempt for Brahmanism by trampling on their sacred string, and making a cow of *jaggery*,[1] which they ignominiously demolished with their shoes. The Raja, hearing of these heretical meetings, sent to disperse the innovators—who, on being detected, were put out of caste. The number thus expelled was so great, that His Highness was anxious to heal the breach by the readmission to their former privileges of all the Kalankis who were willing to petition for it. The *upádhya* of the royal family, who is generally recognised as the head of the Brahmans of the district, was ordered to restore all such by purification. The purification ended, the court Brahmans were desired by the Raja to celebrate the happy event by a dinner, of which the lapsed and their restorers alike partook. This measure gave much umbrage to those Brahmans, who were independent of kingly influence; they congregated in great crowds, and decreed, that all the Kalankis were still out of caste, and that all who had eaten with any of them were, by that very act, outcastes too.

[1] Date sugar, and the same word, both being forms of Sanskrit *Sarkara*. —See Colonel Yule's invaluable *Glossary*, 1886.

Now commenced an internal war, which raged most fiercely for some time. The Raja threatened that he would prevent the stubborn part of the priests from exercising their vocation in his city, and they declared that they would bring down the curse of their gods upon his royal head. The Raja was at length forced to yield, his court Brahmans were obliged to make an atonement for their offence, the bigoted section triumphed, and the Kalankis were left in their outcaste state —neither Mussulmans nor Hindus.

The "unconquerable preserver," Vishnu, however, in his nine manifestations, is far less the popular Hindu god of Nagpoor, than the destroying and bestial Shiva. Of these two phases of idolatry, wrote Hislop, the worship of the obscene *linga* is vastly the more degrading. There is another very common object of adoration at Nagpoor, which shows, in whatever light it may be viewed, the firm grasp which Satan has got over the poor Hindus—the Naga or Cobra. And in the villages bordering on the jungles there is a deity that receives more honour than all others—the Wagha or Tiger. In his first preaching tour, his attention was arrested by some pieces of wood, which were sheltered under roofs of straw at each end of the villages. At first sight, they appeared to be stools with four legs awkwardly spread out to make them stand; but they had rudely carved heads with gaping mouths intended to represent tigers. They were the tutelary gods of their respective villages, to protect them from the ravages of wild beasts.

These facts showed Hislop what, in the neighbouring province of Berar Sir Alfred Lyall discovered and philosophised upon long after, that the religion which, under the name of Hinduism, has covered all India, is not a uniform system, but that, as it has been altered in successive ages by contact with different nations, so it has diverse aspects in different districts. Nay, in the same district, it presents the appearance

of a complex system, framed out of various elements. It was not the Mussulmans who were the first to leave an impression on the religion of India. Long before the Mussulmans crossed the Indus, a process of change had been going on, to adjust it to the habits of those who are now classed under the general name of Hindus. At Nagpoor we may still trace a distinction between the gods of the Sudras and the divinities of the Brahmans. A Brahman professes to despise many of the deities that are special favourites among the cultivators, and his contempt for them falls little short of the feeling with which a cultivator would regard an idol of the conquered Gonds. So apparent, even at the present day, is the varied origin of modern Hinduism. So far from having been always from the remotest antiquity the same unchanged, and as some would have us believe, unchangeable system, it is in fact a heterogeneous compound, formed and adapted as the circumstances of time and place required. Moulded and reduced to something like uniformity it has indeed been under the plastic hand of the Brahmans, who have employed their power and art in constituting themselves its proud head: still it is no better than the image of gold and silver, and brass and iron and clay, which, during so many ages, claimed the homage of the nations of Western Asia and Europe; and before the little stone, which is yet destined to fill the whole earth, it shall be broken to pieces.

The Kalanki excitement so stirred up the people that two of the German catechists, when preaching in the city, were assaulted as in some way connected with the reforms. The third, Mr. Bartels, was in charge of the Tamil-speaking people in Kamthi. In the midst of his organising work and exacting daily duties, the missionary did not cease to be the naturalist. He wrote thus to his brother Robert:—

"SITABALDI, 12*th July* 1845.— . . . We had entered on our house the last time I wrote you. It is a nice enough abode. You

would scarcely expect such a one in the centre of India. It would be a new thing to have scorpions as part of your domestic establishment, to find perhaps one or two a day careering over the carpet with their tails up, ready to insert them in anything that comes in their way. And it would be a novelty to live in the neighbourhood of serpents, to find a cobra as near your door as the 'æthers' were said to approach the abbey 'Retreat'; to hear the jackals howling about at night, and to know that there are hyenas in your immediate vicinity, and tigers in the jungles at a distance. But with these exceptions and the influence of the climate, which certainly makes Europeans very languid, Indian life is very delightful. Sitting between the open door and the lamp burning on the table in the evening, I get enough of insects without requiring to seek for them. Winged ants, beetles, grasshoppers, and moths all buzz and leap about my ears, and entangle themselves in my hair, or disport themselves round the light till they perish. I have been doing my best to preserve a few for you. I even employed a boy to collect butterflies, but my success has been small. I have got a box to keep my captures from the ravages of ants, but it is impossible to preserve them. I have had the most beautiful butterflies eaten away in a night with nothing but the wings left. I had got four kinds of *mantis*, but not one of them survives, except a specimen I got to-day. How long it may be 'to the fore' I cannot tell. I hope to fall upon some better mode of securing them; but you know I have not much time for these things. It is a small kind of brown ant that is so destructive to animal matter. But, as you know, we have the white species in India, which delights in nothing so much as vegetable tissue made into paper. It is lamentable to fall upon a book that has fallen a prey to their mandibles. However valuable before, it is rendered perfectly useless. This I ought to have included among the miseries of India.

"But as an entomologist *you* would be in your element among the ants. There is a black species very large. This is the season for all sorts of insects moving abroad—the time of the growth of trees and the springing of herbs. The rains have commenced. At first they came down with tremendous violence, and produced almost an immediate change on the face of nature. We shared also in the benefit. It was felt to be very refreshing. Before we had been very weak; the days were hot and the nights oppressive. We went to bed thirsty and awoke parched; we arose from our couch in the morning and felt a desire immediately to throw ourselves down on a sofa. Still we kept our health. When the monsoon came, our bodies became very

elastic and vigorous. After the first shower had fallen, I went out to climb a hill that lies behind our house, and to water the shooting roots of the plants. But the rainy season is the most dangerous. Europeans are apt to expose themselves too much, and there are more deaths during the monsoon than any other part of the year. September is reckoned an unhealthy month. In October the cold dry weather commences. We have great cause of thankfulness to our gracious God that we have been free from sickness, with very slight exceptions, since we came to this country. Both of us, and especially Erasma, were weak during the hot seasons, but we have never been really ill. Neither of us has been a day confined to our room since our arrival here. Yesterday I had an attack during the night, but I am now quite better. The only place where I am afraid I shall feel a constitutional weakness is in my liver, which never troubled me in Europe, but has made itself felt within the last month. Hepatitis is extremely common here."

By October of that year a native teacher from Dr. Wilson's Institution at Bombay arrived, and Mr. Hislop removed to Kamthi for a time to open the mission school there. He began it with fifty-nine pupils, a few the children of English soldiers and Eurasians, some native Christians from Madras, but the majority Hindus and Mussulmans. Tamil was the vernacular of the natives, but all were taught English likewise, and above all the English Bible. "At present we have no vernacular schools, ff at other stations, from which to draft the more promising youths for our English institution; but, if the Lord will, we hope to be able to enlarge our operations to that extent by-and-bye."

A Scottish sergeant of artillery named Liddell was found qualified in character and in education—as so many of the old East India Company's men were under the double-army system—to take charge of the mission there when Mr. Hislop was at Sitabaldi and Nagpoor city. The local board bought him out for Rs. 400, and gave him a salary of 60 Nagpoor rupees a month. "I shall never consider myself fully relieved from Kamthi," wrote Hislop to the committee at home, "until I can welcome the arrival of an additional labourer

sent out by the Church. I hope to hear from you soon in answer to our application for a teacher or an ordained missionary." As unofficial chaplain to the Presbyterians and evangelical members of the Church of England at Kamthi, his work had been heavy. The case of the young officer described in the following letter is typical of many in which his personal influence and loving faithfulness to the Master all unconsciously drew both his own countrymen and the natives to Christ:—

"KAMTHI, 26*th December* 1845.—. . . Since I came over here, besides preaching to Tamil Christians through an interpreter, I have had divine service on Sabbath for the Presbyterian soldiers in the artillery schoolroom, the use of which has been kindly granted by Colonel Wynch for that purpose, as well as for our weekly prayer-meetings. On the last Sabbath of November the Lord's Supper was administered in this cantonment, for the first time, according to the Presbyterian form. About thirty disciples encompassed the table of the Lord, all meeting in spirit, as I trust, with the Master of the feast. The day selected was in anticipation of the march of the Scots Fusiliers, who were under orders to proceed to the North-West Provinces of Bengal, to be in readiness in the event of hostilities being commenced in the Panjab. A small but devoted band of that corps joined in renewing their sacramental engagements of fidelity to the Captain of their salvation, according to the simple rites of their fatherland, from which they have been separated for many a long year. Great was their joy at being favoured with the opportunity, and I have reason to believe that they felt it to be a season of refreshing and strengthening for the toilsome and perhaps perilous expedition on which they have now gone. I trust that those of the communicants who have remained behind can also look back with pleasure to the table spread in the wilderness, and are enabled to go on their pilgrimage rejoicing.

"One guest I welcomed with peculiar delight. He is a young officer in a native regiment. He had accompanied a friend on a shooting excursion, when the latter contracted the disease of which he died. The young man felt concerned about his friend when lying in a sick-bed, and oftener than once had I in his hearing, and sometimes to himself directly, an occasion of making known the things that relate to the eternal peace of men. At first I found him strongly averse to

the message of the Gospel, for he was in love with sin; but, as the progress of his friend's disease became alarming, and more especially on being exhorted by him to prepare for death, his mind became seriously convinced of sin, and he was led to cry out, 'What shall I do to be saved?' He was in this state when the remains of his young friend were committed to the grave, I hope in the expectation of a blessed resurrection. At this time I saw him often, and gave him Baxter's *Call* and James's *Anxious Inquirer* to read. In a day or two after he sent me a donation, and also became a regular subscriber to the mission. The subsequent week he came to our church on Sabbath evening; and then on the following Wednesday he attended the prayer meeting; and lastly, within three weeks of my first having seen him in the chamber of sickness, or in less than a fortnight after the arrow of conviction had entered his soul, he sat down with our little congregation to celebrate the dying love of his Redeemer, who, he then could say, was all his salvation and all his desire. I never, except in a single other instance, saw a change so decided in so short a time—a change from daring blasphemy, to deep reverence for God—from utter disregard of the ordinances of God's worship, to a diligent seeking for His presence both in public and private—from open profligacy and vice, to the sincere love and practice of holiness; and this in spite of the ridicule of all his companions, with only one exception, and notwithstanding of temptations manifold, which a Christian at home scarcely knows. 'Not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord.' Since the time I first knew him as a Christian, he has been fast increasing in every good word and work. His spiritual growth has been as rapid as the vegetation of these tropical climes. How it should stimulate those who were in Christ before him, to see one who has been engrafted into the vine within the last two months, not only covered with the blossoms of a fair profession, but already beginning to bear the ripe fruit of holiness! In conversation with him I feel myself very much rebuked for my want of faith, and gratitude, and love. When will the first fruit from the heathen here be gathered in? . . ."

As military stations in the interior of India were at that time, it was impossible that the advent of a preacher so thoroughly in earnest as Hislop should not arouse opposition. While all the evangelical officers, of whatever church, joyfully gathered round him, the rest could not conceal

their dislike to him and his message. The "Puseyite" chaplain, as the term then was, headed an attempt to silence him, or at least to keep him out of the hospital, where his visits were valued by the sick and dying of all classes. His preaching was jealously watched. Although he was the more careful to avoid the most distant allusion to any individual or church, and declared only the great principles of the Gospel, he was reported to the Brigadier as charged with violent hostility to the doctrine and ceremonies of the Church of England, and as teaching sedition and heresy to the European soldiers. A demand was made that he should submit a sermon, which had been so misrepresented, to the Bishop of Madras for his authoritative decision as to its orthodoxy.

All that the military authority could be induced to yield to excessive pressure was, to send a caution to the missionary—who was giving his gratuitous services to such of the troops as chose to attend in the mission school-room—to take care when visiting hospital not to interfere with soldiers of other denominations than his own. No instance of such interference was stated. "I have often indeed," wrote Hislop to his brother Robert, "visited the cots of Episcopalians and even Romanists, who have expressed a desire to see me; and when the Fusiliers were in Kamthi I had a class of convalescents every week, usually numbering about twenty, which consisted of men of all Protestant denominations who chose to attend it. In speaking to this class I often had much comfort, for I believe in more than one instance the Spirit of the Lord was present to heal the diseased soul. But never have I, in so far as I am aware, spoken either to Romanists or English Churchmen who have given any evidence of a disinclination to hear me. I regret the present opposition exceedingly, because of its bearing upon my usefulness in the European hospitals, which I have always found a most interesting field of labour. Now I am in a measure

shut out from them, and deprived of an opportunity of speaking to men who, when brought by the fear of death to think of their spiritual condition, often wish to hear something more than the mummeries of a Popish priest or the formal prayers of an English clergyman. But amid all these trials, and amid all the misrepresentations which are unscrupulously circulated regarding me, it is a great consolation to have the answer of a good conscience toward God and men; to receive the approbation of all, though but a few compared with the opposite class, who love the Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity; and especially to be assured that there is One who rules over the tumults of the people, and after they have served the good purpose for which they are designed, can say to them, 'Peace, be still.' I am aware I need the discipline; and if it tends in any degree to increase in me a lively zeal for the truth of God's Word, and a tender compassion for those who are bitterly opposed to it, it will not have been sent in vain."

Having organised the mission in Kamthi, Hislop joyfully returned to his Marathi studies at Sitabaldi, and to his Maratha work in the city of Nagpoor, which he termed "the high places of the field." He saw that the vast and almost purely Hindu population of the capital, and not a military station, must be the centre of his principal Christian institution from which the light would, as in the early days of the Church, radiate out to the country around. When inspecting Dr. Wilson's Institution in Bombay, he had resolved not to rest until a propaganda of the same kind, such as Duff had first founded at Calcutta and John Anderson also had opened in Madras, was created for the people of Central India.

Again, on his way through Ahmednagar, while admiring the work of the American missionaries there, he saw that the absence of such an embryo college, alike for the educated natives and the native Christian families, weakened all their operations. He had been restive under the too chap-

lain-like work at Kamthi, till he could fairly plant his spiritual mine in the heart of Nagpoor—of all India. But at last on the 2d day of May 1846, in the chief street, in the Shukarwari quarter of the city, he founded the school which he and his successors have developed into one of the four great Christian colleges of his Church, and the only efficient educational institution of the Central Provinces, now known by his own name of the Hislop College. He thus reported the event:

"On the 2d of May (1846) with much fear and trembling, but yet looking to the Head of the Church, who disposeth all things for the advancement of his cause, I opened a school in the native city of Nagpoor. God seemed to have prepared the way, for while I was doubting about the possibility of getting a house without the consent of the Raja, I met with a person who was anxious to let a house, which he had just finished with the view of converting it into a shop. Without much ado I took possession of the intended shop, and commenced operations with about thirty boys. They have now increased to seventy, some of whom are young men who come to learn English. The majority of the pupils, however, are reading Marathi, and, indeed, we were obliged to begin at the alphabet with one and all of them. Having now obtained a partial knowledge of the language, I communicate the religious instruction; while Sakharam, who has removed to Nagpoor from Kamthi, has charge of the secular department. The step we have taken is a most important one, and such it is considered by the great men connected with the court, who exhibit not a little surprise and jealousy of our infant institution. I pray that it may be really important in its beneficial results—that it may be said of one and another of the pupils, that this soul was born and trained for heaven there." "You have taken the bull by the horns," said the not very friendly Resident, alluding

to the public prominence of the school in the same street as the Raja's palace.

In another month the longing, toiling missionary rejoiced over his first converts. Like the majority of those referred to in the Book of the Acts of the Apostles they were humble, and, by the "mighty" and "noble" of the world, despised; but both illustrated the power of the consistent lives and Christ-like influence of Anglo-Indian laymen over their servants. Mr. Hislop thus reports the two cases :—

"SITABALDI, 12*th June* 1846.—On 4th curt., at our weekly prayer meeting in Kamthi, I enjoyed the privilege of admitting two natives into the Christian Church by the ordinance of baptism. Their names are Monkhali and Virasawamy, both Tamil people. They had both heard something of Christianity before the mission was established. The first-named had been servant to a surgeon shortly before I came, and while his master was staying in the house of my dear friend, Dr. Eyre, he was favoured with opportunities of hearing the Scriptures explained. When I arrived at Nagpoor, he entered my service. From the first he commended himself to me by his amiable and docile disposition, and the faithful discharge of his household duties. It was not known till the time I was residing in Kamthi, that he felt in his heart that there was something more needed for his salvation than mere amiableness of temper and decency of conduct. About six months ago, while I was preaching, as usual on the Sabbath, through a Tamil interpreter to the native Christians, the truth came home to Monkhali; he was pricked to the heart, as he himself says, by a consciousness of guilt, and he was impressed with the necessity of at once receiving Christ as his Saviour. The passage of God's Word which was specially blessed to the conviction and conversion of his soul, was the history of Noah. To the state of the antediluvian world he found a counterpart in the condition of this country, and of his own heart; for the certainty of coming judgment he felt a response in his own conscience; in the preparation of the ark, he discovered the greatness of God's love for the salvation of perishing sinners, and at the same time the danger of refusing to listen to the preaching of righteousness, and betake himself to Christ without delay. At this period he was much with God in prayer. Often did I see him when he thought he was alone in the presence of his Maker, pouring forth his heart in humble confession and earnest supplication. His petitions,

I believe, were heard, and he now enjoys a serenity of mind which I regard as the peace of God that passeth all understanding.

"The other candidate for baptism, Virasawamy, or Virapa, as he is more frequently called, has for some years been acquainted with Christianity. Having been taught in his youth to read, an advantage which Monkhali, I am sorry to say, does not as yet possess, he was in the habit of perusing any book that might come in his way. Amongst others he got a Tamil tract, entitled "The Blind Way," which shows, by extracts from Hindu writings themselves, the folly of idolatry. When light through this means began to break in on his mind, he used to go to the temples and knock off some small chips of the idols, and carry them away, thus proving to himself most convincingly that those were no gods that could not resist such indignities; that they could not be his saviours when they could not save themselves. Some time after this, he entered the service of Colonel Wynch, in whose family his acquaintance with divine truth was more and more enlarged, by means of books lent him to read. Feeling a desire to learn more, he came to our place of worship in Kamthi, and although he cannot, like the other, refer to any particular part of the Bible which entered his heart, he felt his soul melted by the free invitations of mercy which were addressed to him from Sabbath to Sabbath. The first time I heard of his anxiety for Christian baptism was from his parents, who came to me and besought me not to baptize their son. They then presented a petition to Colonel Wynch, praying him to prevent the administration of the ordinance, and for Virapa to marry a heathen girl, whom they had selected for him. Failing in their attempts, they tried all the means in their power to persuade their son to give up his intentions, and to enter into their plans; but he was enabled to resist all their arguments, and to overcome the temptation they had set before him. Monkhali has suffered still more than Virapa at the hands of his relations, who are bigoted heathens. The feelings of both have been greatly harassed by their intercourse with their aged parents, and though they have not had the bonds of caste to break as well as the ties of natural affection, still the trial of their sincerity has been severe indeed. They have been the objects of much reproach, but they have borne it all patiently; and in the genuine spirit of the Gospel they continue to support their respective families, who are in a state of dependence upon them. Both catechumens continued under probation for some months after expressing their wish for admission into the Church, and it was only when I believed they were already Christians in heart, that I proceeded to administer to them the sign

and seal of their profession. They are still, however, exposed to many temptations and hardships, and greatly need the intercession of God's people at home."

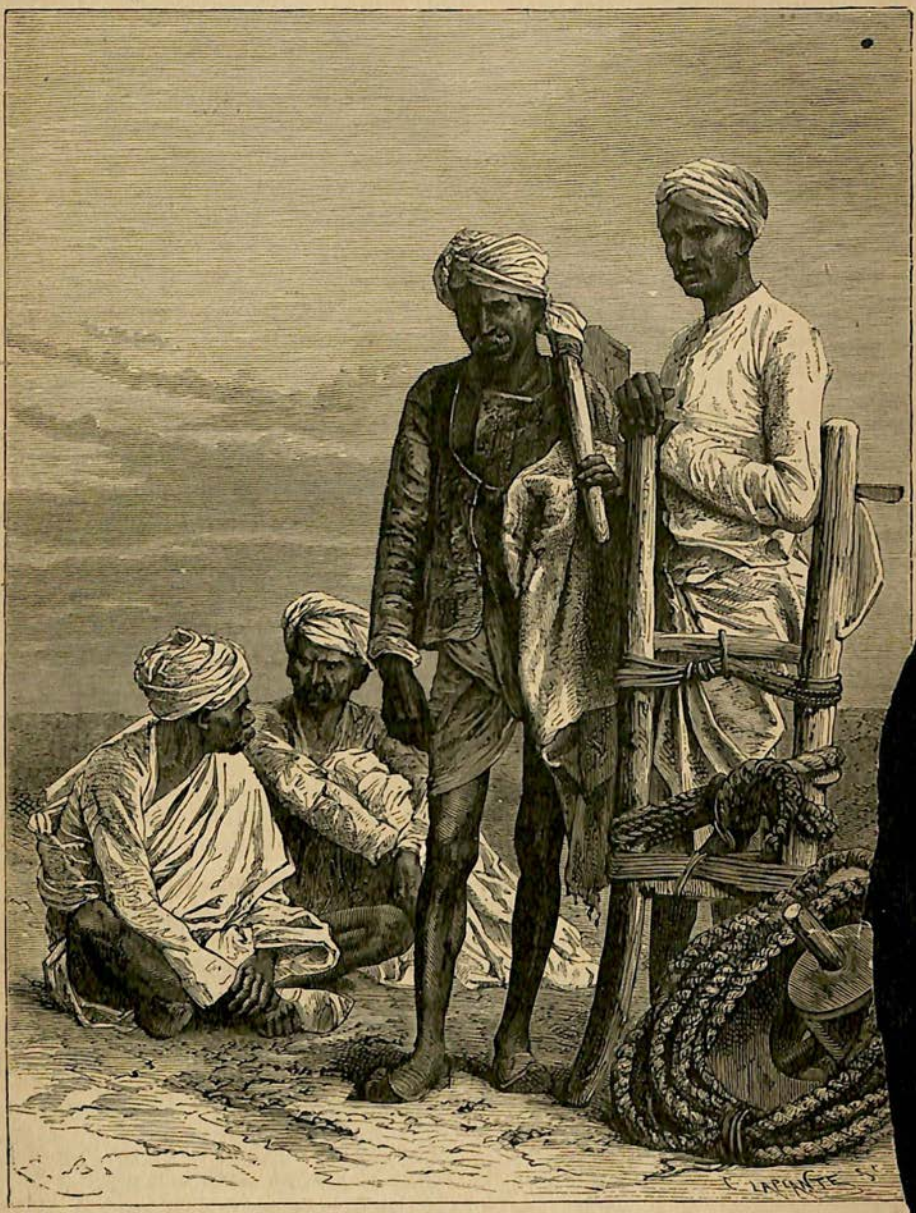
The third convert was the most remarkable of the three, Yadoji, a Maratha farmer of mature age. His father had died headman (*patel*) of Vishnoor, on the Wardha, a village seventy miles away; the boy had been cruelly ousted from all his rights when only ten years of age and without a protector. He grew up among the villagers as an ordinary cultivator, but exercising a patriarchal influence due alike to his descent and his personal character. For years he sought help from the idols in vain, and first became convinced of their folly by a low-caste preacher from Berar. When making a purchase in a shop in Nagpoor, he saw among the merchant's papers a book that was strange to his eyes. Inquiring what it was about, he was told, "Only about the religion of those people the Europeans; you may have it if you like." It was a Marathi translation of a twopenny English primer for children with words on Jesus Christ. As he read it from day to day, his heart was deeply affected. At night, in dreams, he thought he saw the Saviour crucified for sinners. He felt he had at last found the true way to peace and a prosperity such as he had not conceived when he asked the idols to restore to him his ancestral property. Hislop, when on his first missionary tour, met with the truth-seeker in the month of April, before the baptism of his Tamil converts, but could not publicly baptize him till the 25th July 1847. He had abandoned idolatry, he observed the Sabbath day, he had even refused to lead his fellow villagers in their festivals. But he had to learn that caste observances also must be given up. He even preached Christ to his caste-fellows. Twice he promised to visit Nagpoor for baptism, and twice his courage failed him. At last, leaving wife and niece at home, he stated his determination to be baptized, even if it should be before a thousand

people; declaring his sense of the love which God had shown him through the instrumentality of the Mission. So, before the English and Tamil Christians of Kamthi, after the story had been told to the rejoicing worshippers, the Marathi baptismal service was conducted for the first time in Central India, and interpreted to the Europeans. Yadoji witnessed a good confession, and all his life thereafter had "great peace of mind and joy in the Holy Ghost." In the evening he publicly threw away caste by eating with his English fellow-disciples. "In the conversion and baptism of Yadoji, the first stone has been laid of our Marathi church."

The work in the three mission centres was increasing so fast on all its sides, vernacular preaching, Anglo-vernacular teaching, English preaching and hospital visitation, that Mr. Hislop longed for a colleague to be sent from Scotland. He had suffered from more than one attack of fever, due to walking too much in the heat of the day, and the German side of the Mission had practically come to an end. At last he was gladdened by the news that Robert Hunter, the ablest student in Aberdeen, had been ordained for Nagpoor. Under the persuasive appeals of Dr. Duff, when on his first visit to that city after the events of 1843, two brothers obeyed the call to preach Christ to the peoples of India, first Robert, and then Thomas, Hunter. Thomas was sent out by the Established Church of Scotland to the Panjab, where at the important city of Sialkot, near the Kashmeer border, he founded the most spiritually fruitful of its missions, and, with wife and child, became a martyr for Christ in the Mutiny of 1857. Robert, the elder, joined Mr. Hislop towards the close of March 1847, and worked by his side for eight years, till ill health drove him to Scotland. In all respects, as saint and scholar, preacher and teacher, observer and naturalist, Dr. Robert Hunter was worthy of the companionship and friendship of Stephen Hislop, in whose house he lived. He still

survives to work for the Master in Essex, and is known to literature and science as Robert Hunter, LL.D., F.G.S., author of the *Encyclopædic Dictionary.*

When the cold season of 1847-48 came round, and his colleague had mastered the rudiments of Marathi, Mr. Hislop planned his second missionary tour. Taking with them Yadoji, as their Timothy, the two spent a month in marching south to the beautifully-placed town of Chanda, through the Wardha and Chanda districts. We shall see hereafter the results of this tour through the central land of the old Gond dynasty and the great coalfields of Central India, now opened up by railways, in the harvest reaped for ethnology and geology. The three evangelists, with servants to pitch the tent, cook the meals and carry the Scriptures for distribution or sale, left Sitabaldi before sunrise on the 15th December. A five hours' walk brought them to the first of the large villages in which the people of India, since the Aryan settlement, have congregated for safety, at once from wild beasts and men, and for such a common social life as caste renders possible. In two days they reached Takalghat, having crossed the very stream in which, fifteen years after, Hislop was to close his career. Following the line of the future railway to Bombay, they next preached at the town of Sindhi, since a considerable station. Striking due south through Mandagaon and other places whose Maratha names denote the number or character of the hamlets that have united into large villages, on the 21st December they reached the since famous cotton mart of Central India, the great town of Hinganghat. Its thousand inhabitants heard of Christ in their own tongue for the first time. Christmas night saw them in Warora, now the coal centre of the rich Wardha valley, as Hinganghat is its cotton centre. Past glittering lakes which the old Gonds had formed by damming up the small valleys, over the lower spans of hills clothed with fine forests of teak ; right down the



MARATHA PEASANTS, CENTRAL INDIA.

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Chanda plateau with its iron ores, stream gold, old mines of diamonds and rubies, and three thousand millions of tons of coal most valuable of all—which he was to be the first to reveal to the world—Hislop and his fellows, after a slow march of fourteen days, reached the Chanda capital, with its old Gond walls, citadel, monoliths, and royal tombs. On their return, they preached in the villages not previously visited. In the walk of four weeks they traversed a hundred and eighty miles. The spiritual record of the tour has a special value, in so far as it reveals Hislop's mode of working; and for the first time lights up the darkness of a region which cotton and coal combined promise to make the most prosperous in the heart of India:—

"NAGPOOR, 10*th February* 1848.— . . . The villages in this part of the country are placed in general at a distance of four or six miles from each other. The larger ones we made our starting and halting points, and the intermediate ones, which were of less importance, we contrived to visit either in going or returning, so that scarcely one place, where an immortal soul was to be found, was passed by. At the towns we generally spent one or two days. The place of concourse was the spot to which we repaired—whether it was a temple, the town-hall, or the market-place; and there, sometimes with a book, and sometimes without one, we instructed those who were willing to learn, both hearing and answering questions. To those who had the ability and the desire to learn, we gave tracts and portions of the Word of God.

"The measure of intelligence which we met with in different places was very various. If it were a town which we visited we found a considerable degree of acuteness and education; if it were a small village, very probably not a single inhabitant could either read or understand what they might hear on the subject of religion. Chikri, a village containing about 200 souls, was of this latter sort. Not one of the people who had been born in it knew one letter of their alphabet from another; and so dull were their understandings that they could not comprehend the simplest statement of divine truth. When, on inquiry, I found that they had not been able to follow me in my remarks, I thought it might be through my own fault: perhaps my accent was peculiar, or my language was not sufficiently colloquial,

or my mode of treating the subject was unnatural. I therefore soon gave way to Yadoji, who always took part in the work; but though his pronunciation and style and ideas were just such as might suit the inhabitants of a village, still they did not perceive the scope of what was said. In fact, they were well-nigh strangers to reflection. Almost unconscious of sin, they could not see the use of forgiveness: wholly occupied with the concerns of this world, they thought not of another after death: engrossed with procuring a provision for their bodies, their souls had fallen into such a state that in intellect and morals they scarcely surpassed the bullocks they are accustomed to drive. Never before had I adequately felt the blessing of education—never before had I sufficiently estimated the magnitude of brutish ignorance as a barrier in the way of Christianity. People in such a degraded condition require to be elevated to the rank of thinking men before you can appeal to them, and charge them to judge what you say. They need not be told that they have a conscience, whose dictates are to be attended to amid the calls of worldly business, and the clamours of bodily appetites, before they can understand the need and value of the gospel, which proclaims salvation to perishing sinners. But in very few of the villages did we find any means of instruction. Most of them are without a school of any description. Hinduism does not contemplate the education of the masses. And of those who, by their own efforts, acquire the power of reading, it prohibits all from perusing the Vedas, its acknowledged treasury of wisdom, unless they belong to the favoured classes, for whose aggrandisement the system was devised, and is still maintained. The few words of adoration, addressed to the sun, which are found in the Vedas, and repeated by Brahmans, under the name of the Gayatri,[1] are declared to be an unfailing means of bliss to those who use them; and yet an acquaintance with these is forbidden the poor Sudra on pain of damnation.

"At Hinganghat, a manufacturing town, with a population of 12,000, the Lord was pleased to grant us a wide field of usefulness. On the first morning of our labours there we were content with a station on the outskirts of the town, where we preached to comparatively a small company. The news, however, of our mission soon spread among the whole inhabitants, and little boys were going about the streets speaking of the God and Saviour of the Europeans. It being known that

[1] "May we receive the glorious brightness of this, the generator, of the God who shall prosper our works." So Benfey translates the invocation of the Sun (wife of Brahma), which it is the duty of every Brahman to repeat mentally morning and evening.

we had books to give away to those who could read, there was a great demand for them the whole day. From breakfast time till evening I could do nothing but sit outside of our tent, and preach and distribute tracts and Gospels. Among the recipients was the Patel, who invited us to the Kacheri to address the people. At the time appointed a deputation was sent to escort us to the hall of Andiana, where we found everything ready for our reception—about 300 of the inhabitants assembled in expectation of our coming, and some police officers (peons) to keep order among the crowd. They all displayed an intelligent interest in what was said. The visit was repeated next morning. During the whole period of our stay at this place the gospel from our lips might have access to about 1000 people, and by means of books it might reach as many more.

"At Sindhi, another considerable town, we also had the pleasure of speaking to many souls, and distributing many tracts. The first day which we spent there was a Sabbath. We spoke to the people in the Bazaar in the morning, and promised a visit in the evening. On our appearing at the place agreed on we could scarcely find room to stand. It was a holiday—the last and great day of a fast called the Moharam, held in commemoration of the death of Husain, the son of Ali, the cousin of the Arabian impostor. For some time previous much semi-barbarous ingenuity is expended in preparing slenderly constructed edifices of bamboo, paper, tinsel, mica, etc., resembling Chinese towers, but which are meant, I suppose, to represent tombs. On the last day all are brought out, and after being carried about amid much music and uproar, they are consigned to a river or tank, the usual grave of such Indian pageants, whether Hindu or Mussulman. The Moharam is not, properly speaking, a holiday of the Hindus; neither in its rites is it an essential part of the religion of Mussulmans. It seems to be the joint product of the two nations brought into contact. Springing from an event in the history of the idolatry-hating Mohammedans, it has yet assumed an appearance resembling the ceremonies of the superstitious Hindus; and in its present form it furnishes a convenient opportunity for the devotee of false gods and the followers of the false prophet meeting on common ground. And such was our experience on the Sabbath evening in question. The whole town, young and old, high caste and low caste, Hindus and Mussulmans, were out of doors, and crowded together in the market-place. Rising from the dense mass of human beings might be seen rows of tabuts, as they are called, ready to be marshalled in one line of procession, and conveyed to the river. Scarcely expecting, amid the excitement,

to meet with one disposed to attend to the concerns of his soul, we went a little aside from the general tumult that our voice might be heard. To our surprise we found an audience, chiefly composed of those who had been present in the early part of the day, willing to listen, who remained beside us unmoved till the twilight, although in the meantime the procession passed along the street in which we had taken up our position.

"Still it would be disingenuous to conceal my belief that much of the interest evidenced by the people was the result of novelty. We were the first Christian ministers who had traversed the district, and it was but natural that the strangeness of the message should attract many within hearing, who had no other desire in listening to us than to relieve the dull monotony of Indian life. The truth of this we discovered on returning home; for although we always found the largest audiences where they had been largest before, yet we could not fail to notice, on comparing a town or village with itself, that the number of hearers diminished as their familiarity with the gospel increased. Neither can we rightly regard the general acquiescence which was expressed in the excellence of the Christian way of salvation as a decided token of good. It appears to me that this kind of approval is most readily given, when the person who pronounces it does not perceive the practical bearing of that which he commends. If he felt the direct application of it to his heart, from what we know of the natural man, we might expect from him the most determined resistance rather than an unhesitating concurrence. And hence I conceive that, although the popularity with which the gospel was received at Hinganghat and Sindhi is much to be preferred to the ignorant stupor with which it had to struggle at Chikri, or the worldly indifference with which it was treated at Bandak; yet even at the best it shows that its practical tendency and personal application are not so well understood as at the Presidency seats, where the heathen are stirred up to the most determined hostility, and are vainly endeavouring to crush the truth, which they see must ere long overthrow their whole system of superstition. The only instance of practical consequences following on the dissemination of the word came to our knowledge on revisiting a place named Mandagaon, where we had met with an open door in speaking, and had distributed a good many tracts. One of these had fallen into the hands of a gardener, who learned from it the sinfulness and absurdity of idolatry. Immediately acting on his conviction, he threw all his gods that were of clay into the river, and his wooden images he laid aside with the view of cleaving them, when necessary, into firewood.

"Our recent experience has had the effect of bringing vividly before us the great amount of labour which must be bestowed on this land before we can hope to see it converted to God. What need of preachers to convey the glad tidings of salvation to the poor Hindus, before they go down to the regions of woe! What need of teachers to instruct the rising generation in the towns and villages in the very first elements of moral and spiritual knowledge! What need of efforts, on the part of Christians at home, to supply both old and young with the means of enlightenment and grace! And what need of the Holy Spirit that all our feeble instrumentality may be blessed to the regeneration of India and the world!

"On our journey Mr. Hunter and I were much pleased with the Christian prudence and devotedness of our new brother Yadoji. His heart was evidently much enlarged, and his feelings drawn forth by the work in which he was engaged. Since returning he has proceeded on a tour by himself to visit the villages in the immediate neighbourhood. And I am glad to say that the work of the Lord was going on here when we were absent."

This was seen in the baptism of two young men at Kamthi on the 26th March 1848. Apaya was the first of the Telugu-speaking people, who inhabit North Madras, to join the mission. Well educated in his own literature, and of high intelligence, he was twenty-two years of age and in charge of the school building. There he met with Mrs. Sherwood's adaptation of Bunyan's book to the people of the East, under the title of *The Indian Pilgrim.* For the first time he heard of One who gives rest to the weary. The first book of Scripture which he read was "Exodus," and the study of the ten words of the Law there made him feel the burden of his sins. He at once sought baptism. Alarmed, his mother in the distant capital of Haidarabad summoned him to see her, and on his promising to do so after he had put on Christ, she sent the family gooroo or priest to reason with him. Apaya began to declare the sinfulness of all to this man whom he left enraged that he, a Brahman, should be called a sinner. The other was a Tamil convert, Perumal, a farmer's son from Conjeveram, who had first become

acquainted with Christianity from a copy of Schwartz's *Dialogues in Tamil.* He lived in Kamthi, with a cousin who treated him with violence when he resolved on seeking baptism. He fled to the protection of the missionaries, his cousin relented, and Hindu and Christian continued to live in the same house. The next convert was a Eurasian, the most disreputable character in the cantonment. Notorious for cock-fighting, beating his wife, and abusing his neighbours, he one day entered the mission church. The truth convicted him and drove him to Christ. Two months after, Ramasawmi, a Tamil, twenty-three years of age, who had when a boy first heard of Christ in the Wesleyan school at Bangalore, was baptized by Mr. Hunter.

The next case of Kotlingam, the son of a carpenter at Masulipatam on the Bay of Bengal, reveals the inner life of the Hindu family. Removing with his widowed mother and sister to Nagpoor, he met with a native Christian employed in the arsenal. Under his teaching Kotlingam experienced such a consciousness of guilt that he thus afterwards described it: "I felt I had sinned with my hands, my feet, my eyes, my mouth—with every member of my body and every faculty of my soul." He ceased to work on Sunday, he joined his friend in family worship. In an access of conviction he tore the sacred thread from his shoulder, and supped with the family. He visited the missionaries for fuller instruction. The news spread in the ordnance lines. "Next day," wrote Mr. Hislop, "his female relatives came with a complaint to our house more like the fabled furies than women connected with him as mother and sister. It was difficult to catch all that passed; for ever and anon the younger, not content to allow her rage to find expression in the words of the elder, would break in, and with the view of enforcing would drown what was said. But the substance was this: 'Here is my son. When he was an infant I

nursed him, when he was sick I paid peculiar honour to the gods to make him well. Then daily did I wash the idols; with my own hands I swept all round the temples; and I begged through the bazaars, that I might present a liberal and acceptable votive offering. And, when he got better, I spent much money on him to teach him to read and write; and did I grudge the twenty-seven rupees which it required to invest him with the sacred thread? He is not like one of your Pariahs; he is of honourable origin. There is the Brahman caste, and the goldsmith caste, and the carpenter caste—all worthy of respect in this land. And yet my son, after all I have done for him, will leave his caste, and become a Christian. For two days past he has been doing no work. He can think and speak of nothing but Christ. Surely he is mad. Who will give me food? Who will put *tulsi* leaves in water and lay them on my mouth after I am dead. Oh, I cannot live! We shall destroy ourselves.' Sometimes the frantic women would say, 'We will eat opium.' At another time they would declare, 'We will throw ourselves down a well;' but as if this were not supposed to be an end sufficiently disgraceful for the surviving son, again they would add, 'We will go and hang ourselves, and then all men will point at this unnatural child with the finger of scorn, and say, "There goes a man who became a Christian, and caused his mother and family to hang themselves."' It was in vain then to think of convincing them of their sin and certain misery, if they fulfilled their threat. To all our arguments their only reply was 'Never mind about heaven or hell. We cannot tell what will be hereafter. What is present we know.' How dark are the prospects of heathenism for the future! Where are its comforts to cheer the heart, or its grace to modify the passions in the present state of trial?

"The son heard all; but he had made his choice. *He* desired to escape the wrath to come; and, though painful to

his natural feelings, he would rather disobey his mother than incur the displeasure of the Most High. He therefore plainly told all present, that he had broken his caste, because he considered it to be wrong; and although he would endeavour to act the part of a dutiful son, and support his family as before, he could no longer delay soliciting admission into the Christian Church. 'In that case,' said his mother, 'you need not come near my house, but go among the Pariahs if you are so infatuated.' Many were the attempts Kotlingam made on the following Saturday to soothe the minds of his distracted relations; but they would not so much as see him. Next day, Sabbath, 19th November, he was baptized at Kamthi in presence of the European congregation that regularly assembles there for divine service. At his own request his original name, which is associated with all that is base in Hindu worship, was changed for that of Jacob.

"Since that time he has met with few annoyances, except that he was once called by his mother before the commissary of ordnance on a charge of refusing to support her. Jacob easily made it appear that he could follow no other course than that which was imputed to him as a fault. He showed that all his wood had been taken from him, all his tools—yea, all his clothes. 'But if,' said he, 'my mother will allow me to have the use of these, I will support her as before.' The mother, on being appealed to, replied that she would allow him to have nothing, and the case was accordingly dismissed."

Not less significant than the action of the Tamil carpenter's mother was that of the first eastern Maratha evangelist's family, on his death. Yadoji went to visit his native village, in the hope of inducing his Hindu wife to return with him to Nagpoor. On the way he caught fever in heavy rain, and arrived at his ancestral home dying, to find

shut against him. He was obliged to make his bed in his sickness with the cattle. But all his discomforts and pains he bore with exemplary resignation. Though he was alone among idolaters, he continued to testify for Christ. "It was but little, however, of what dropped from his lips, that we could collect from their accounts," wrote Mr. Hislop. "The only thing which seemed to have impressed their memories, and which all repeated without variation, was the commandment which he gave concerning his corpse. 'I am a disciple of Jesus Christ,' he said the day before his death, 'therefore burn not my body, as if I were a heathen, but lay it without any ceremonies in the earth, from which I trust it shall be raised in glory to meet my Lord.' Yet his relatives, in utter disregard of his instructions, committed it to the flames, and cast the ashes into the Wardha. We intend to erect a simple stone near the village, to call the attention of the inhabitants, as well as of the passers-by, to the example of Yadoji. His memory will long live in our hearts, associated with all that is holy and lovely in the Christian character. He was distinguished for the childlike simplicity of his faith, the habitual joyfulness of his disposition, and the fervency of his spirit in prayer. Every event that happened, however apparently unimportant, was carried directly to the ear of his Heavenly Father. His daily life was, as it were, one constant petition; for no sooner had he made known his request to God, than he began to look up expecting a gracious answer. When we bear in mind the advanced age (sixty years) at which he was called to a belief of the truth, and the remarkable extent to which he was delivered from the prevailing infirmities of his countrymen, we have great reason to admire the grace of God which accomplished the change."

In three months another Maratha, of the same Hindu caste and Christ-like spirit, Shrawan, was added to the

Mission, and took the place of Yadoji as evangelist. Sir William Hill had gone home on furlough ; Major Woodward, commanding the 32d Madras Native Infantry, and Captain J. Whitlock of the 8th Madras Light Cavalry, joined the local Mission Board. The year 1849 witnessed the opening of the first girls' school in the city of Nagpoor. "The undertaking was a bold one and was commenced not without much hesitation ; but it has succeeded fully better than we had ventured to hope." Such is the ardent evangelist's description of the beginning of what has proved to be one of the most successful woman's missions in the East. "We hired the veranda of a house not far from our boys' school and began. All who had promised to send their daughters stood aloof when the day for action came, with the exception of one. . . . The number has now risen to twelve caste girls, and we are inclined to trust that the existence of the school is at least beyond immediate peril. We might have had more pupils had we consented to offer them any pecuniary inducement to come."

We may close the record of the early converts of the Nagpoor Mission with the case of Perumal the second, who died unbaptized; while Perumal the first, desiring to conform to some of his old heathen practices, joined the Roman Catholics who practise such conformity. The second Perumal, son of a family of great respectability in the Telugu country, heard a Telugu address on the claims of Christ, in Kamthi bazaar. He joined the mob in beating the young Madras catechist, Samuel, who spoke. Samuel's gentle persistency so prevailed that during a subsequent attack on him, Perumal boldly declared he could not believe in a religion which used violence, and took the speaker to his own house. There his wife and children also heard the truth, and he himself became a candidate for baptism. Before he could be thus admitted to the Church he was seized with a fatal sickness. When dying he regretted

that he had not been baptized, but added, "I have been baptized in spirit, which is the chief thing," and then exhorted his wife and children to give themselves to Christ. His last request was made to his Hindu relatives, to be buried as a Christian. "Perumal was followed to the grave by a procession of heathens, among whom were to be seen some Brahmans; while, hovering at a distance with his face disguised might be observed the most sincere mourner of all, his spiritual counsellor and friend, Samuel." The widow, who had insisted on the Christian burial, resolved to seek a Christian home for herself and her children, so soon as the two months of mourning for the dead were over. But, meanwhile, one child of seven died repeating the catechism and using the Lord's Prayer as the father had taught him. The widow also died, when about to set up her own house, and was buried as a Christian. But she died before she could entrust the two surviving orphans to the Mission, and they were claimed by the maternal grandfather for Hinduism. So, ever since it was first proclaimed in India, and to the present hour, does the teaching of Christ work in the hearts and families and communities of men, calling all and revealing the thoughts of many, accepted at first by few, but ever working out the end and the promises of Him Whose inheritance is the heathen, Whose possession is the uttermost parts of the earth.

From his abundant sowing and reaping we are called to look again into the inner sanctuary of Stephen Hislop's soul, in the prospect of the most affrighting of all forms of death. He thus writes to his brother Robert:—

"NAGPOOR, 12*th June* 1848.— . . . I have been laid aside from active exertion by a bite which I have received from a mad dog. On the morning of 18th as I was walking to the school in the city, a dog came on to the road just a little before me, and advanced towards me. As I had not the slightest apprehension of its real character, I took no notice of it, and allowed it to pass quite close to my leg. As soon as it had got behind my back, it made a dart at my right leg, which it took between

its jaws, leaving the marks of its upper teeth near the shin bone, and of the under ones in the calf. One of the tusks made a pretty deep wound in the flesh near the shin. I looked behind as soon as ever I felt the bite, and saw the dog pursue its sullen course towards a buffalo, which it mangled severely, and then continuing in the same direction, it attacked another dog. On looking at my trousers, which were made of white cotton, and therefore not a very good protection against the saliva of the animal, I found they were all torn from the knee downwards. Seeing no time was to be lost I ran home as fast as I could, the distance of about a mile. Without delay I got into my buggy and drove up to the Regimental Hospital. There I found an apothecary, who did not like well to act in the absence of the surgeon. However, he washed the wound and applied caustic to it. The surgeon arrived about quarter past 7 A.M., which was 1½ hours after the accident happened, and he contented himself by cauterising again. He did not cut the part out as I expected, and as two of his professional brethren in Kamthi, whom I consulted three days after, would have done if they had been in his circumstances. However, at the time I asked their advice, they thought it too late to have recourse to excision, so I am applying poultices to it, which is all that can be done now. And I am endeavouring to look unto the Lord, Who wounds and heals, Who kills and makes alive according to His sovereign, wise, and holy pleasure. What may be the issue I do not know. If the Lord have any more work for me to do here, He can and He will preserve me for it; but I may have the sentence of death in me, and the solemn circumstances in which I am placed ought to lead me to put no confidence in the flesh, but to trust in God, and to seek more earnestly His gracious countenance, His holy image, and His everlasting glory. How thankful ought I to be for this renewed warning; how grateful for the interval of leisure He is now affording me for setting my heart and house in order. If these advantages be employed for taking a nearer view of eternal things, the consequences will be to the praise of God and my own best happiness, whatever may be the result of my present affliction. If it should terminate in my decease, I leave my beloved wife and child with confidence to my Heavenly Father, and under Him to an earthly brother, who has always been my com[illegible] panion here below, and whom I desire to meet in the land of promis[illegible] above.

"Oh, Robert, give diligence to make your calling and electio[illegible] sure. This object is worth all your pains, and in comparison with[illegible] every other pursuit on earth is trifling and vain. I have had n[illegible]

than one warning of human frailty since the date of my last letter to you. I think it is since that, that Samuel, a native Christian baptized at Chicacol on the coast north from Madras, was taken ill. He came to our house a few months ago, partly to act as a servant, but chiefly to prosecute the study of English at our school in the city. About four weeks ago he accompanied me to Kamthi, where I was to preach as usual. He returned home with me on Monday, when he began to complain of pain in his bowels. However, little seemed to be the matter with him till Wednesday evening, when he was seized with violent spasms. These threw his body into the most fearful contortions, and brought on lockjaw. But it was beautiful to see him in the midst of all his bodily troubles and in the apparent prospect of approaching dissolution, enjoying the most perfect composure and even joy in his soul. His only concern was about his parents and brother and sisters, who are heathens. To them he addressed many a serious exhortation, as well as he could, through his closed teeth, warning them to flee from the wrath to come, and to lay hold on Jesus, who was all his support in the hour of present agony and apprehended death. It pleased the Lord, however, not to cut him off. He got relief after two days, and was so far recovered as to be able to walk about. This was a cause of great joy to his family, who really love him, for he is a most amiable lad."

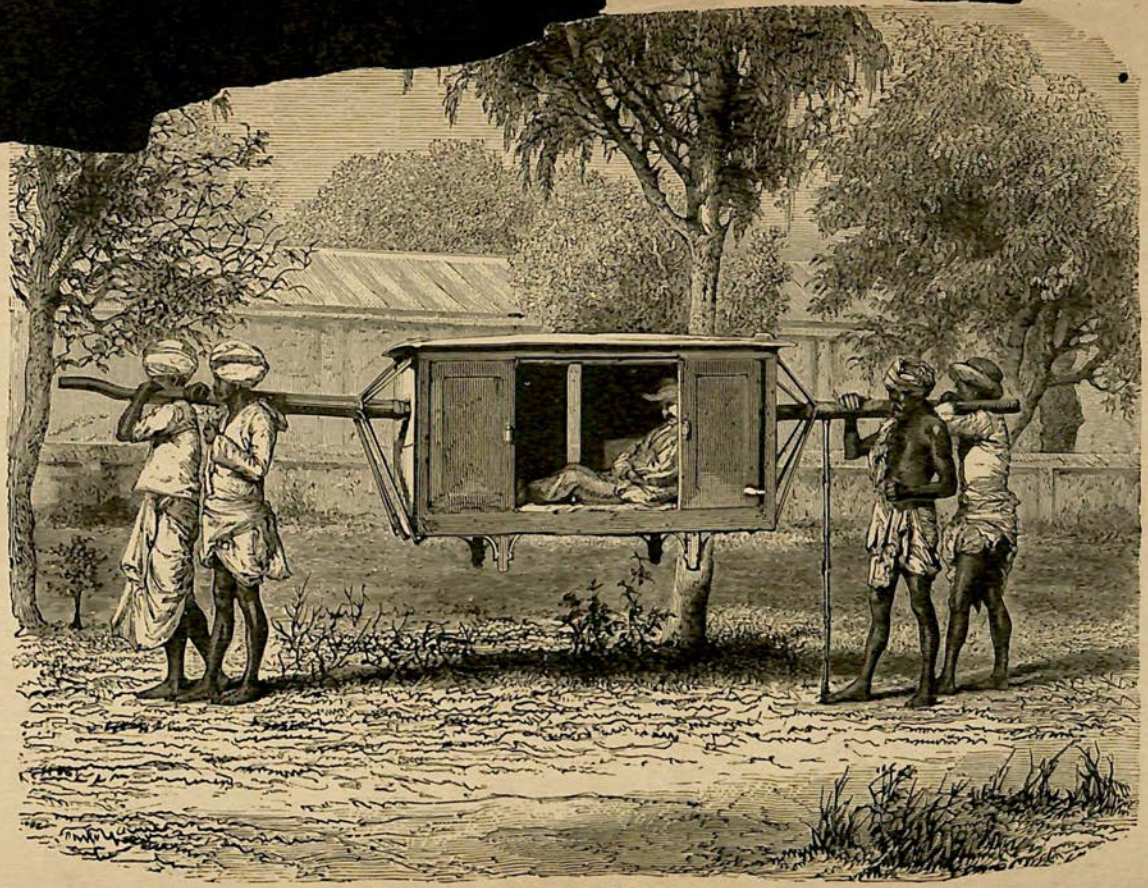
Exhortations to faith poured in upon the suffering missionary, and much prayer went up for him.

The older mission of his Church at Madras having been weakened by the absence in Scotland of the Rev. John Anderson, its founder, and the Rev. P. Rajahgopaul, its first convert, Mr. Hislop was summoned thither, especially to strengthen the educational side, and train the five divinity students. His own work needed him. Mr. Hunter would be left alone, and the season of the year was the hottest for a traveller through the scorching winds of the Dekhan to the coast of South India. But he loyally obeyed the call, and was absent for thirteen months. Because of the uncertainty of the steamer's movements, he did not take the route by Masulipatam, where Robert Noble and he, kindred spirits, would have met. On the evening of 15th April 1850, Mr.

and Mrs. Hislop, and their two young children, left Sitabaldi, in palanquins, for Secunderabad, the principal military station of the Nizam of Haidarabad's capital; where, after a journey of rather less than a week, they were welcomed by Dr. J. B. Fleming, and other Christian officers, some of whom were their grateful correspondents. A Christian mission has only recently been sent to the quarter of a million Arabs and other Mohammedans of that once disturbed but now peaceful city. His letters to Mr. Hunter give us glimpses of the Nizam's country some forty years ago.

"20*th April* 1850.—We arrived at Wan at sunrise. At this first of the Nizam's villages we spent some time in breakfasting, and speaking to the people, who were acquainted with our visit to Wardha. Though accompanied by the Daffadar, who showed us much kindness while in his district, we soon found that the posting arrangements on this side of the Wardha were very inferior to those on the other; and when the Daffadar left us, the bearers, who had perhaps been dragged from their villages and their nets for very hard work, showed symptoms of indolence, and one or two even ran away. . . . By such hindrances we necessarily lost a good many hours on the journey, within the Nizam's dominions. I was told at Wan that the Telugu began to be spoken slightly even at that village, and so increased, till it decidedly preponderated. . . . After that, for two stages, we had a preponderance of Marathas, which delighted me much; but on inquiry I found that they had been brought south. . . .

"This is a very interesting place for the botanist and the geologist. Often did I wish that I had been able to travel more slowly, in order to examine its many natural curiosities, among which there were fossils, shells, as well as many flowering trees, which I had never before observed. There was no thick underwood, so far as I could perceive, but perhaps it may have been burnt. The trees are not very lofty or close, and most of them were either naked, or beginning to put forth their leaf or flower buds. My Maratha bearers, before leaving me, said they were sure I had never travelled on the Madras road before, as they had never known an instance of a sahib being able to converse with them in their own language. Nirmal is at the southern extremity of the jungle of that name, and is a strong looking town with gates, and a post-office. We arrived at Nirmal at 2 A.M.



PALANQUIN TRAVELLING IN INDIA.

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of Friday, and at sunrise crossed the Godavari in our palanquins, placed on bamboo baskets of a round shape covered with leather, and strewed with sticks at the bottom to keep the passengers from the water, which oozes through very plentifully and lodges under their feet. I was delighted with the noble grandeur of the majestic stream, which must have run very deep, though its breadth was diversified in many places, both by rocks and sand-banks, pretty islets that were covered with shrubs. Among the plants on the banks I observed a willow, which may have been the same with the Wardha one, but I cannot be sure. There was a slender plant, growing about three feet high, which, at the distance I saw it, struck me as resembling asparagus, or *hippuris*, or *salicornia*, but I do not believe that it was any one of these. South of the Godavari the principal features in the landscape were huge masses of round granite rock, rising in clumps, and encircled generally by foliage, which at a distance might be mistaken for a village of mud houses slightly elevated, and enclosed among trees. About a mile south we heard of a robbery which had been committed the night before, and had caused alarm among our bearers. In the encounter two of the travellers were killed by the robbers, and another mortally wounded, but the depredators did not make off with their booty without the loss of two men. . . . What a sad state of lawlessness the Nizam's country must be in. The very first glimpse at the surface shows clearly enough the neglect of agriculture. . . .

"Major Woodfall told me that there had been a German missionary from Rajamahendri surveying the mission-field round Haidarabad. He had had an interview with the Resident, who assured him that if there were a mission in actual operation, and blest by the conversion of any individual, that individual, provided he were of anything like a reasonable . . ., would receive British protection against all the power of the Nizam. . . . It is thought a little abatement must be made from the satisfactoriness of the pledge, on the ground of General Frazer's known politeness. . . ."

From Haidarabad the Hislops marched slowly south to Nellore, the Telugu station of his Church, reaching it in time for the Company's doctor there to save the life of one of their little girls. There the Scottish missionary, whose standard of knowledge and experience required by catechumens before baptism was very different, met with Mr. Heyer, of the American Lutheran Mission. "I am inclined to think

that too low a standard of qualification is required for those whom he baptizes, when they can repeat the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed. However, I trust the Lord is with his simple-minded servant, and let us pray that the movement will increase in depth, reach upward to the higher castes, and spread wider and wider till it covers the surrounding country." The prayer was answered a quarter of a century after, when the terrible famine of 1876 was followed by the adhesion of thousands to the missionaries who gave their lives for the dying population.

. . . "On the road I had occasionally a little time to look at the vegetable productions of the country. I could mark the difference in the flora as the country was rocky or sandy, inland or near the sea. There were many plants entirely new to me, but I have not time to describe them. The country on the banks of the Krishna, and a little south of it, presented a variety in its geological features, differing from the uniform granite, to which we had been previously accustomed, in exhibiting horizontal layers of an argillaceous limestone of a bluish pea-green colour, which is used for writing in a pencil form on black boards. Before we came to Ongole, the crystalline rocks had resumed their predominance. Bold hills appeared, reminding us of the lower mountains of our native Caledonia. But there was one noticeable peculiarity, viz., that the hills N.W. of Ongole do not form a continuous chain, but rise up from the plain in detached broad-based cones. Between each eminence there must at the least have been a mile of plain, that stretched up to the very foot of the hill without any appearance of a slope. The only instance of a chain of hills which I remarked was near the Pulicat lake, running north and south parallel to the coast. At Nellore for the first time I came on the laterite, which is a coarse red-coloured igneous rock, with vesicular vacuities like a 'smiddy dander.' You are aware that it is soft, easily cut into shape, and used for building. . . ."

A week's study of the older mission at Madras filled him with satisfaction. In his long letters to his solitary colleague at Nagpoor he is critical as well as eulogistic, eager to learn from the experience of others, but loyal to his own Marathas. "The Nagpoor scholars have more knowledge, and they have

had their minds better exercised," he writes confidentially in one letter. He taught Scripture and Science from half-past 11 to 5 daily. He had a struggle to introduce natural history, and especially geology, into the curriculum of the Institution; but he carried his point—as he always did. He rejoiced in the native converts, and he sent useful gifts to his own sons in the faith, with solemn messages to them and to the inquirers whom he had left behind. "I think," he wrote to Mr. Hunter, "we ought to have some time set apart for united prayer on behalf of our own Nagpoor—Sabbath morning, between 7 and 8." "My heart is with you in your work."

On 5th October he wrote an urgent letter to Mr. Hunter to despatch to him "Captain Brown's little thin blue cloth-boarded book on Fossil Conchology. The occasion of my wishing to consult it is that I have lately fallen in with a bed of clay here that evidently belongs to the Tertiary formation, containing many shells whose genera, and, if possible, species also, I desire to determine. . . . We have just gone into a house of our own. It is not very good, but it possesses this advantage that it is within a stone's throw of the fossils." This discovery stimulated him to give keener attention to the rocks at Nagpoor, after his return thither, with results which attracted the notice of geologists throughout the world. To the Christian public as well as educated natives of the great city of the south, Sir Henry Pottinger being then Governor, Mr. Hislop delivered more than one lecture. At a meeting held every Monday evening for religious conference and worship, and at the Bible and Tract Societies, he made the acquaintance of all the missionaries. His opinion on the higher Christian education has authoritative value, as coming from one who was a vernacular evangelist as well as a practical teacher, and whose whole career shows him to have been the most honest and unprejudiced of observers. He thus wrote to his Church:—

"MADRAS, 10*th July* 1850.— . . . Some men are still so blind to the experience of the past, as even at this late period to predict failure and disappointment to all such modes of evangelisation, on the ground that they do not come up to their idea of preaching the gospel. Now, to me it appears, on the contrary, that our brethren here take a most thorough mode of preaching the gospel. The distinguishing excellence of the system of education which they pursue, is the prominence which is given to the exposition and enforcing of the Scriptures. The truth of God is inculcated on crowds of intelligent listeners, from day to day, and from hour to hour; the invitations of mercy are given forth continually in their hearing, and pressed on their acceptance with great seriousness and fervour. In my estimation, the daily business of the Institution realises more than anything else I have seen since the conception of a constant series of religious exercises. There is in general an outward appearance of propriety among the pupils—there is a manifest earnestness on the part of the Christian teachers—and the whole of the duties are blended with much heartfelt prayer to the Most High for His enriching blessing, without which all human exertion is in vain. When we compare the classes that are assembled in these solemnising circumstances, with the fluctuating groups that gather round a missionary in the streets or the bazaars, we may easily perceive the advantage which the servant of Christ, when he preaches in a school rather than in the open air, gains in the sustained attention with which his words are received by minds trained to think, and as yet unengrossed by the cares of the world, as contrasted with intellects unaccustomed to reflect, or dealing only in idle speculations alien alike to the language and the spirit of the gospel. And not a slight advantage is it, as every one may judge, that in the school-room there are the same individuals, on which to work not only for an hour at a time, but from day to day, so that misapprehensions can be removed—truths fixed can be followed up—impressions made can be deepened, and all may be exhorted to fly from the wrath to come, by an unhesitating and entire surrender of themselves to the Saviour.

"But though we should see little *immediate* effect from such efforts in the way of accessions to the Church, yet I am persuaded that the progress thereby made is most sure, and the results in the end will be most extensive. We cannot say, from personal observation, what will be the character and conduct of the youths who have enjoyed all the benefits of the Institution here, when they grow up to be men and fathers of families; for the Institution has not been in existence long enough to allow an induction being made on that point. The

instructions of mission-schools may not be attended, in the present generation, by many marked results in the way of men forsaking caste for Christ, though even in this respect how much has the Lord done, compared with all the money which the Church has expended? But I am persuaded that they are preparing the way for a great moral revolution in a future age, and that no distant one. It is obvious, that among those who are now learning under a mission, there will be few who, when they come to be parents, will have the blindness and the cruelty to cast their offspring into chains, as Moodookrishna's father did, simply because they wish to leave Hinduism for the faith of Jesus. The next generation will no doubt see a great improvement in this respect, and cases of baptism will then not be so rare. Of course, without the Spirit's teaching, all accessions to the Christian Church are worse than useless; but if He works with the labours of His servants, it is easy to see how the Word may have free course and be glorified in this land, where at present the obstacles to its progress are so many and so great. . . ."

As the year drew to a close Mr. Hislop was alarmed by reports, becoming ever more definite, that there was a proposal to abolish the Nagpoor Mission, to keep him at Madras and to send Mr. Hunter to strengthen the Bombay staff. The urgency of Mr. Anderson, combined with the want of organisation in Edinburgh, seems to have suggested such a policy. Dr. Duff rushed home, and soon removed the financial difficulty; but Mr. Anderson returned to Madras resolved that Mr. Hislop should remain there. The protests of Sir William Hill and the two Nagpoor missionaries, backed by the large-hearted counsels of Dr. Duff, happily prevailed. On 1st April he wrote to his lonely and overworked colleague that he had that day received the express warrant of the Church to return. "Now the path is plain before our feet, and we can commence our journey back to Nagpoor with the same feeling of duty, and the same trust in the aid and protection of the Most High, as when we left you. Thanks unfeigned to the Lord for this remarkable instance of divine interposition. Long had I been painfully exercised in refer-

ence to this matter. I felt that I could see no way but just to call on God to undertake for us. May we not now say that our extremity was God's opportunity? I would look upon this result as a token for good, and would go on my way toward Nagpoor rejoicing; and if He spare me to reach you in safety, I hope He will condescend to employ me as an instrument in spreading the light of the Gospel into some dark corners of Central India."

Mr. Hislop returned to Nagpoor in the hot season of 1851 by Calcutta—where Mr. Mackail would fain have kept him as his successor in the Scottish congregation—by the Ganges Valley and Jabalpoor. He entered on a second period of seven years' toil for the people of Central India; rejoicing that the mission he had founded was not to be sacrificed.

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CHAPTER IV

TOLERATION, BRITISH AND MARATHA—A MISSION IN A HINDU STATE

Hislop's courageous independence—Toleration in Travankor—In Kathiawar—Peculiarities of Nagpoor State—Lord Dalhousie—Colonel Durand the only worthy Resident—Orders of 1833 disregarded—Native opinion forced Hislop to act—Anticipates the Government policy since 1857—The Holi saturnalia and the British Resident—The Dasara festival and the Assistant British Resident—Hislop demands that the scandal cease, as in Travankor—His impartiality and good temper—Baba Pandurang's persecution—Raja's Brahmanical Council sentence him to indefinite imprisonment for breaking caste—Lord Dalhousie's attitude to Missions—Hislop's letter on the case—Science and Missions—His thirty-first birthday—He appeals to the public conscience—Decision of the *Friend of India*—Dr. Duff's help—Baba's fall and restoration—Hislop's review of the principles involved—The Chief Queen and Lulloo Bai—Sir Henry Durand temporarily Resident—His defence of Christian education—Letter to Lord Ellenborough—The tide has turned—Right to sell tracts secured—Mr. Mansel, the new Resident—Last of the idolatry abuses—Last liberty of conscience case—Ganu Lingapa.

THE founding of a Christian Mission in a Native State, and that a Maratha kingdom, so far removed from the influence of public opinion as the unexplored centre of India in the year 1845, was an act which demanded just such courageous independence as Stephen Hislop was known to possess. It was, in some sense, a special providence that such a man should be sent to a hitherto unknown region which, so long as it was a Hindu state, was guarded by the English Political Resident as a close preserve, and when it became ordinary British territory, was allowed by an incompetent Commissioner to remain a corrupt and conservative province. To his bold

fidelity to the principles of toleration in the former case, and to his fearless determination that the purity and honour of British justice should be vindicated in the latter, does the empire owe the peace and prosperity of the most successful of its recently formed provincial administrations, next to Burma —that of the Central Provinces of India.

This was not the first instance of Christian missionaries settling in a feudatory Hindu kingdom. In the far south, Travankor, the most Brahmanical and caste-bound of all states, had long been the scene of flourishing Christian churches, Nestorian, Anglican, and English Nonconformist. But Travankor was as weak during the Haidar Ali and Tipoo devastations as the Maratha powers had been strong. We kept it in existence and nursed its little strength. During a long minority, our famous Resident, the Scottish General Munro, became its terrestrial providence, giving it laws, courts, and a civil administration in which the large Christian communities were fairly represented. His reforms purified every department except those of idolatry and caste, the latter of which it was reserved for Sir Charles Trevelyan, when Governor of Madras, to modify so far as it oppressed the lower Nair race and outraged the modesty of their women. In the Kathiawar States, Dr. John Wilson of Bombay had induced the Irish Presbyterian Church to set up a mission four years before he sent out Hislop to Nagpoor. The same toleration which a Christian Resident had made easy in Travankor was from the first enforced in the far north of Bombay, for Sir J. P. Willoughby was chief secretary to its government, which officially announced that it would offer no objection to the Rev. Dr. Glasgow and J. Kerr proceeding to and residing in the principalities of Kathiawar, so long as they conducted themselves according to the principles set forth by Dr. Wilson. Having his Master's commission, that missionary statesman had declared that he would have entered

Kathiawar even without the good-will of its English rulers, but none the less did he value a good understanding with the authorities.

Its isolation and its recent Maratha history made Nagpoor a much more difficult position to carry for Christ and peacefully to hold. The memory of Apa Saheb's rebellion hung over it like a nightmare. The fortress of Sitabaldi and the vast camp of Kamthi still testified to apprehensions of political danger. The feudatory king, Raghoji III., was indeed weak enough, but he was a fanatical and debauched Hindu with the same Maratha dreams which, in 1857, Nana Dhoondopunt did so much to make a reality. Above all, there was not a strong Resident. The paramount British power was busy elsewhere, was absorbed in the great game in Central Asia which issued in the first Afghan disasters, and then was busied in the vain attempt to prop up a succession of Sikh Praetorians in the Panjab after Ranjeet Singh. The soldier-politicals of the stamp of Richard Jenkins, the great civilians of the standing of Colebrooke, Elphinstone, and Metcalfe, and even the young Donald M'Leod had passed away or had been drafted to the Satlej and the north-west frontier. From Lord William Bentinck's time to Lord Canning's, Nagpoor was abandoned to inferior Residents. The great Lord Dalhousie had become Governor-General about the time Hislop went out; but for him Central India had little interest, and he left it to others. His cousin, Captain Ramsay, was Assistant-Resident; Colonel Speirs was Resident at Sitabaldi. There was indeed one man who, had he been appointed permanent Resident, instead of being sent to stop a gap for a few months, might, with Hislop, have anticipated the prosperity of the Central Provinces by ten years—Colonel Durand. But, as a military statesman who had been the friend and secretary of Lord Ellenborough, he was out of favour with the Bengal clique of civilians, and justice was not to be done to him till his

schoolfellow, Lord Canning, came to make him Foreign Secretary; and Lord Mayo, all too late, to send him to guard the gate of the empire as Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab.

The first abuse which forced itself on Hislop's attention, in his daily intercourse with the Hindus of Nagpoor city and district, was the connection of the British Government and Christian officials with their religion. In its ordinary territories, subject to Parliament and the Queen, the East India Company had been ordered in 1833 by the Board of Control, under Lord Glenelg, to leave "our native subjects" entirely to themselves "in all matters relating to their temples, their worship, their festivals, their religious practices, their ceremonial observances." For some years the Company's officials disregarded the order, which it had taken the remonstrances of the Christian public of Great Britain forty years from Carey's time to obtain; and Christian petitions from India itself had again to be sent to Parliament. But not even a pretence was made of applying the order to the Christian officials and British troops attached to the courts of Hindu, Buddhist, and Mohammedan sovereigns. It was tacitly assumed that the people of Native States are not "our native subjects" in a sense which helped to cause the Mutiny of 1857, and which Lord Canning swept away with the happiest results ever since, in the loyalty of the third of India which is feudatory. Even long after the Mutiny, Viceroys so strong and clear-sighted as Lord Lawrence himself refused the urgent request of Chief Commissioners so wise as Sir Arthur Phayre, to be spared the humiliation of making the slavish prostration called *kotow*[1] to the King of Upper Burma as to a divinity, and of walking unbooted and squatting like a hound before the late Nizam of Haidarabad. Public opinion has at last stopped all that disgrace.

When, in the schools and streets, the Hindus asked Mr.

[1] Literally "knock-head," from the Chinese.

Hislop and his colleague why they disapproved of the Holi saturnalia which the Resident attended; and of the Dasara festival, in which both he and the British troops took part every year, what could they answer? Thus Hislop put it in an address to the Christian and educated people of Madras city during his sojourn there: "It is painful, after all that has been done to sever the British Government from its participation in idolatry, to be obliged to show that the work is yet incomplete. Gladly would I escape from this disagreeable duty; but it is forced upon me. As a missionary in Central India, I cannot avoid it. I cannot see idolatry encouraged by the British Government at Nagpoor, or hear of the countenance which is lent to it at other Maratha courts, without raising my voice against the dangerous and sinful compliance, and endeavouring to enlist all God's people in a warfare against it. But there is another and a more literal sense in which I cannot avoid this duty. The inhabitants of Nagpoor lay it upon me. They are continually asking my colleague and myself about the connection of the British with their religion. The question is submitted to our consideration in the school, it is thrust on our notice in the streets. We cannot escape from the injury which it inflicts on our operations, we cannot help entertaining it as a subject of most anxious thought. The pupils, whom we teach, bring it before our minds for explanation; the Brahmans, with whom we have to contend, cast it in our teeth in argument. If we pass it by without an answer, it is believed that no reply can be given; and the young inquirer is staggered, and the grey-headed bigot gains a triumph. Or if we venture on a solution of the difficulty, what answer can we return? Either we must defend our countrymen at the expense of Christianity, or we must support Christianity to the shame of our countrymen. Either we must say that the religion of the Saviour admits of countenance being given to idolatrous and degrad-

ing rites, or we must maintain that they who do such things are not the true followers of the pure and holy Jesus. If we do the former, we condemn ourselves, as missionaries, for seeking to propagate the gospel to the exclusion of a system with which it can readily stand on common ground—or if we do the latter, we condemn the British Government in India, we condemn the Resident and all in authority at Nagpoor, who undeniably are guilty of acts inconsistent with the plain requirements of God's Word. Now our principles do not lead us willingly to choose either of these alternatives. To revile the gospel we will not—cannot do; to expose the errors of the powers that be, is a sad necessity, to which we feel a great reluctance. I appeal to the Christians in Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta, to whom our Mission is bound by dearer ties than those of either troops, or language, or government. I appeal through the Christians of India to the Lord's people at home, and I call upon all to raise their solemn protest at this time against the sanction which is still in many forms given by the British Government to Hinduism. Silence at this emergency will be construed into approbation. To free their own souls then from guilt in this matter, and to speed forward the day when truth and righteousness shall reign in every part of India and the world, let all who are on the Lord's side lay their sentiments on this subject before our rulers—not doubting that when they are entreated to abstain from idols, yea, from the very appearance of evil, conscience will witness within them to the reasonableness and the rectitude of what is asked."

To appreciate at once the speaker's foresight and courageous love of truth, this must be read in the light of the events then only seven years distant; and of the public declarations of John Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes, and Donald M'Leod, as to the causes and lessons of the Mutiny, endorsed by the Premier and Secretary of State in 1862, when Lord

Palmerston and Lord Halifax officially said, "It is not only our duty, but it is our interest to promote the diffusion of Christianity, as far as possible, through the whole length and breadth of India."

Twice a year the British Government identified itself with the most repulsive ceremonials of Hinduism at the court of the Raja of Nagpoor. The Holi is in India the Carnival of the Latin races of Europe, and the All Fool's Day of children on 1st April. It marks the vernal equinox, the beginning of the Hindu new year, when nature seems to revive. Then spring was thought to wed the earth to love, so that the birds paired, the grass budded, the trees began to put on their leaves. In India the Holi is identified with generative ideas, and therefore marked by obscene practices; while it is considered especially favourable to children, their increase and preservation. In Bengal the juvenile Krishna with his amours is the object of worship; in Southern India it is Kama, the god of desire; in Central and Northern India, it is Holi, a female hobgoblin who devours little children. All classes, save the educated who keep the house and strictly shelter their women, give themselves up to the saturnalia. Where the police are not under English orders and there is no interference, a bonfire is made of articles of all kinds snatched from their owners, and the cruel swinging-hooks are set up. Intoxication and indecency are the order of the day. The revellers squirt a red liquid, or throw balls of red powder over each other and the passers-by, made of the root of the Curcuma Zerumbet, or of the wood of the *Caesalpina sappan;* where these are wanting yellow turmeric is used.

Now, "on the 2d of March" 1850, stated Mr. Hislop to the Madras public, "being the last and one of the great days of the feast, the Resident, accompanied by his Assistant and some other officers, and attended by the escort, usual in official visits, repaired to the palace. What he witnessed or

did there, it is not for me to conjecture. It is to be hoped, that he would have too much respect for himself to submit to be bespattered before the Natives with the colour, which is used as part of the ceremonies of the day, and which a former Resident not long ago received on his person. But it is right that the British people should know that their character, as a nation, has been stained before the heathen, and that their name has been associated with idolatry of the most degraded kind, by their Representative, who in his public capacity, according to yearly custom, honoured the Holi with his presence. I am not aware whether there is any express order from the Supreme Government requiring the Resident's attendance at the palace on the occasion now noticed: but there is one, I understand, in regard to the Dasara, to the connection of the British with which I crave your attention.

"On the last day of the Holi it is the Resident and his establishment only that directly identify themselves with Hinduism. But on the Dasara the Brigadier and his Staff join the political authorities; and a detachment of troops, Madras troops too, European and Native, with music and artillery, is called out to increase the pomp. The order calling out the military was so worded some years ago, I believe, as to make them *assist at the Dasara*. But the language of the order is now more guarded. It is simply to salute the Raja on his leaving the palace. This seems at first sight to be a very lawful object. Surely there is nothing in the Bible to forbid this. If we were to look at the order alone—if we were not to take into account the circumstances in which it is given, the mode in which it is carried into execution, and the effect which its execution has upon the Native community—we could not, and would not, utter a syllable against it. But this is a practical matter. A friend once writing to me on this subject reasoned with me in substance thus: What is the use of your troubling yourself

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with the inferences of your own mind, or the universal impression of the Natives around you? Read the words of the order, they are plain enough; and instead of fastening on the British Government, before the Christian Churches, the charge of encouraging idolatry, go to the Natives, and acquit that Government before them of any intention to countenance their religion.

"This advice, even if it were sound, could not possibly be followed. How could we find an opportunity, amidst the noise and turmoil of the greatest Hindu festival in Central India, of reaching the ears of the thousands and tens of thousands—the overwhelming multitudes of idolaters from all parts of the State, that witness the annual appearance of the Resident and British troops on the Dasara? Or how could we hope to follow them, when the vast assemblage is dispersed to their distant districts and remote villages, and reason them out of the belief that the British, on the occasion referred too, do really sanction their idolatry? Far more promising an undertaking is it, I trust, for us to raise our voice to the British Government, and desire it to take the most suitable steps for convincing the Natives of its wish to have no connection whatever with heathenism. But the advice is as unsound as it is impracticable. In spite of all the remonstrances which we might put forth on the Dasara itself, and in spite of all the diligence which we might employ throughout the year in combating the views of the Natives—nay, though we should do nothing else from year to year, but endeavour to clear the British Government in the minds of the Hindus from all participation with their festivals, still, so long as the present practice is kept up by the British authorities, all our arguments would be utterly powerless. In our reasonings we could anticipate only ignominious defeat. The merest child in Nagpoor could point with his finger to the presence of the British, and appealing to the universal impression of

the Native spectators, could overturn our most laboured statements.

"For what is the present position of the British Government towards the natives of Central India on the Dasara, and what is the view which the latter naturally and legitimately take of it? Once a year, and only once a year, they see detachments of British troops, accompanied by music and artillery, enter their territories for the purpose of saluting their king. Once a year, and only once a year, they see the Resident and his subordinates—the Brigadier of the Subsidiary Force and his staff, and a great many other officers—coming by an unusual road which leads them past the vicinity of the spot selected by the Raja for his idolatry, and instead of going to the palace to salute His Highness there, as the words of the order would prepare us to expect, taking up a position near a bridge between the palace and the chosen scene of heathen worship, where along with the troops they await the Raja's approach. On His Highness with his train of followers mounted on elephants coming up, the Resident and his party, also seated on elephants, exchange salutations with him, and the British guns and musketry discharge their volleys. The procession moves forward; and when the Resident and his party reach the place where their path separates from that of the Raja, they return to Sitabaldi, and His Highness after going a little distance farther arrives at the sacred tree, and begins to adore it. Such are the leading circumstances of the part which the British take before the natives on the occasion of the Dasara; and it is from these circumstances, without any knowledge of our orders or intentions, that the latter are left to draw their conclusion.

"Now, what is the inference which they necessarily draw from the premisses? They know very well, that on no other day than their chief annual festival is similar honour paid to their Raja. He would indeed be received with a salute

any day that he might choose to enter either of the British cantonments. But to be received as a king, when he pays a visit to one of our military stations, is a very different thing from having troops sent, most of them upwards of ten miles, *out of their quarters into his dominions*, for the purpose of saluting him when he goes forth on an errand of idolatry. Again, the Resident with his escort might pay the Raja a visit of ceremony within his territories any day that might be agreed on; and this the Natives could not possibly regard as any countenance given to their religion, provided it were not a day of stated annual recurrence like the Holi, and associated in their minds with heathenism: but such a visit, both in regard to the occasion and the nature of the pomp, is not to be compared with the display on the Dasara. On no other day than this, I repeat, do the people of Nagpoor see both Resident and artillerymen within their country to do honour to their prince. The Raja may leave his palace at the head of his nobles to hunt—he may leave his palace to visit his provinces or review his army, or to do any other exclusively secular acts, common to him with other royal personages; but on these occasions the British, unless he pass through their cantonments, take no notice whatever of his movements. It is only when he leaves his palace to worship a tree—an action not peculiarly royal, and certainly in no sense secular,—that the Head of the Political Department and the Head of the Military, with an imposing array of subordinates and music and guns, proceed into his dominions to offer him all possible honour. When Hindus see these things and reflect upon them, when they see the Dasara alone selected for paying the Raja such marked distinction, what inference can they draw from the facts of the case but this, that the British Government in the choice of the day has a regard to the heathen rights with which that day is in their minds inseparably connected?

"But the evil consequences of the present practice stop not here. . . . How is it possible for Europeans, high in office and with all the prestige of the British name, to be expected to show themselves in state amid the crowd assembled on a festival, without increasing the density of that crowd and prolonging the existence of that festival? It is a fact that at Baroda, the capital of the Gaikwar, when the Resident and the Native Prince were not on friendly terms, for two successive years there was no royal honour publicly paid to Ganpati. And why? Because the Resident on these two occasions refused to appear on the idol's feast day, as he had been accustomed to do. Now, it is not meant to assert that, if the British were everywhere permanently to refuse to appear on festivals, their observance would immediately be discontinued throughout India. But doubtless such a step would materially diminish their importance, and contribute to hasten their disuse. And surely it is not too much to expect of a Christian Government that, instead of allowing its representatives at Gwalior, at Indore, and at Baroda, as well as at Nagpoor, to appear on festivals, by which their pomp is greatly augmented, larger crowds are drawn out to witness the proceedings, and the sympathies of the uneducated masses are called forth towards a false religion, it should direct all its officers in their official capacity studiously to avoid the very semblance of encouraging idolatry in any form.

"What took place in Travancor in 1848? In that year a European officer of the Nair Brigade, that is, the Raja's own troops, felt aggrieved at being required in the ordinary course of his duty to attend His Highness on the celebration of an idolatrous ceremony, and he appealed to the commandant on the subject. On the case being referred to the Raja, he at once stated that he would gladly dispense with the attendance of the European officers of the Nair Brigade at all Hindu ceremonies in future, and that care should be taken

to obviate, by previous arrangements, all cause for any similar representation. Why should the European officers under a Christian Government not enjoy the same immunity as those under a heathen prince? Or why should the British Government not make the same arrangement for its servants with all the Hindu Rajas, which one Raja was so ready to concede to the Christian officers in his service, without even a suggestion from the paramount power?"

Mr. Hislop had chosen the Dasara festival of 30th September 1846, as that on which publicly to raise this question through the *Bombay Telegraph*. Captain G. Ramsay the Assistant Resident replied; under the name of "Ginger," one of his friends followed on the same side. The controversial correspondence continued into the next year, when it gave place to the case of Baba Pandurang, in which the whole principles of the toleration of Christianity by a feudatory Hindu sovereign, and by the Resident representing the British Government, were involved. In neither case, nor in any of the discussions forced upon him by facts and duty, did Mr. Hislop show personal feeling, or the temper of a prejudiced observer seeking only the triumph which ultimately came about. He retained the respect of the officials whose public conduct, in the absence of all other criticism, he submitted to the judgment of the European community in India and at home. In the very address in which he exposed the British connection with idolatry in Nagpoor, he said:—"In a country where the political authority of the British, both by treaty and in act, is so paramount, we naturally look for an improvement in the social condition of the people. And we are not disappointed. To the praise of the Company's influence let it be said, that the territories of the Nagpoor Raja are in a much better state, than those of other native princes not so much under British control. It is pleasing to see the contrast which meets the eye as you cross

the Wardha, and pass from the lawless and neglected districts of the Nizam to the peaceful villages, and the well cultivated fields on the Nagpoor side of the river. Still slavery exists in Central India."

The mission school in the city of Nagpoor was becoming a power in the heart of the Maratha community, when the Brahmans took alarm. Two years after its foundation, their young men eagerly sought instruction, including the English Bible, daily; twenty lads were studying English, and ninety Marathi. The girls' Marathi school was attended by two sisters of the principal wife of the Raja. Two sons of the Tamil converts at Sitabaldi had from the first been educated side by side with the Brahmanical boys; but their presence as casteless offered a good excuse for priestly intolerance. Certain new students demanded that all "pariahs" should be expelled. The missionaries, of course, refused to acknowledge caste in any form, either by attacking it or pandering to it. The Christian school was as open to all as the highway, or the railway a few years after. The Brahmanical leaders in the city issued a decree that none of their caste should attend the school. They were, at that early time, obeyed for the moment, precisely as the priestly sanhedrim had been in Calcutta, in Bombay, and in Madras in similar circumstances. But there was one exception. Baba Pandurang, nearly fifteen years of age, had become a Christian under the missionaries' teaching, though he had not declared himself. He returned to the school, the only Brahman there, and he persisted in his attendance till his father cast him out without food or shelter. This forced the young catechumen to an open decision,—he sought the protection of the mission house on British territory. There he received both food and shelter "in a manner consistent with the rules of his Brahmanical caste." Mr. Hislop sent for his father and gave him every facility for persuading the son, short of vio-

lence. The lad stood firm and asked for baptism into Christ.

In ordinary British territory the courts would have been open, and a decision would have been given after evidence and pleading on both sides, and after an examination as to the "discretion" of the convert who was under sixteen years of age. This had happened in the latest case of the kind, in Madras. In India, as in England, procedure and decisions had varied according to the temper of the judge, but in every case there had been publicity of trial and discussion. The Mission and the convert were now to discover what it was to work in a Native State, where the representative of the British Government was out of sympathy with the principles of Christian toleration, while officially attending the saturnalia of the Holi and Dasara idol festivals. Having failed to persuade or coerce his son's conscience, the father complained to the Raja. The Raja applied to the acting Resident to procure the surrender of the youth. On the Resident's first demand, Mr. Hislop remonstrated that Baba Pandurang would in all probability be ill-treated if forcibly given up. The Resident repeated his demand, alleging the Raja's right under treaty to have his "discontented subjects" given up, but promised to interpose for his protection. On this the young confessor was taken before the Brahmanical and other dignitaries of the city, as described by Mr. Hunter;[1] having testified for Christ, he was imprisoned by the Raja's government. No definite term was fixed, and some of the natives expected that he would be confined for life,—or until alternate cruelty and sensual temptation, as in other cases, led him to cease for the time his Christian profession.

Mr. Hislop's next step was to appeal to the Company's Government of India, and ultimately to the Court of Direc-

[1] *History of the Missions of the Free Church of Scotland in India and Africa*, by the Rev. Robert Hunter, M.A. 1873.

tors. Lord Dalhousie had not been many months Governor-General, and he was already in the midst of the troubles at Mooltan and the preparations for the second Sikh war. There is no evidence that the case of Baba Pandurang ever came before him; Dr. Duff, who watched it in Calcutta, was of opinion that it never did. The just and fearless ruler[1] who gladly sanctioned the public baptism, by a government chaplain, of the Sikh Maharaja who was younger than Baba Pandurang, and who anticipated all official efforts for the amelioration of the condition of women in India by supporting the Bethune School till the day of his death, could not have been personally indifferent to the principles involved in the young Brahman's case, in the absence of a public tribunal. But no answer came, and meanwhile, almost daily, did accounts reach the missionary of the inhuman pressure brought to bear on the still testifying young confessor. How long would a lad of fifteen hold out? Could more courageous

[1] Sir Charles Bernard has supplied this Note. "Somewhere about 1852, a certain well-to-do Coorg, a landholder, was converted to Christianity. The leading Coorgs (aboriginal landholders of the Coorg province) were much excited; they had gatherings, and they threatened insurrection unless the Christian Coorg was removed from the country or deprived of his land. The Coorg authorities reported upon the matter, and proposals were made to the Government of India, that the Christian Coorg should be induced or made to give up his ancestral holding, and to migrate from his home. In this way, it was suggested, risk of insurrection would be avoided.

"Lord Dalhousie, before whom the papers came, minuted to the effect that the English Government was a Christian Government, and that it would ill become us to lay disabilities on, or to punish a British subject for, embracing Christianity. He gave orders that, come what might, the Christian Coorg was not to be turned out of his land on the ground of his Christianity. Those orders went to Coorg through the Commissioner of Mysore. Seven or eight months afterwards Colonel Cubbon reported that the Coorgs had accepted the orders of the Government of India as decisive, that all excitement on the matter had subsided, and that the Christian Coorg was living on his lands, none making him afraid. Lord Dalhousie circulated Colonel Cubbon's report to his colleagues in the Council for information, with some such remark as the following:—

"*It is a maxim of religion to do what is right, to fear God and to have no other fear; but the truth of it, and the wisdom of it, are constantly proved in politics as well as in morals.*"

consistency be expected for ever from a young and as yet unbaptized convert, of Hindu training and physique, albeit a Brahman and a Maratha, than from the experienced born Christian? Was the case to be hushed up by what looked like a conspiracy of bureaucratic silence, while the victim was quivering? Christ Himself was being persecuted afresh in the person of His "little one"? Denied even a hearing, as he thought, by Raja, Resident, and the Paramount Power alike, Stephen Hislop appealed to the public conscience of all classes and creeds. One of his letters to his brother Robert introduces the case from his point of view, and closes with another unconscious revelation of the saintly longings of the heart of the young apostle of thirty-one :—

"NAGPOOR, *7th September* 1848.— . . . The boy's name is Baba Pandurang. He has attended school almost ever since the one at Nagpoor was established. However, lately he was taken away on account of the panic which prevailed in the city regarding the admission of low caste children as pupils. Baba himself was above such narrow-minded and superstitious prejudices, and therefore the time of his absence from school was spent in misery. After some weeks of this torture he resolved to disregard his father's wish and return to school, so great was his love of knowledge, especially the kind of knowledge he acquired from the mission! As a reward for his praiseworthy desire he was turned out of doors the first evening when he went home for his supper. That evening he had to sup with us. But the father being afraid lest he should break caste if he continued to take food under our roof, endeavoured to make up the peace with him next day by promising to allow him to go to school if he would return home. The poor boy consented, but found the promise was not intended to be kept, and there was nothing to be expected but the severest punishment if he attempted to prosecute his studies. After suffering much at the hands of both his parents he again took refuge with us, and declared it to be his wish to live with us and be a Christian. He now not only ate in our house, but also partook of our food, and sat at table with us during his repasts, both of which were acts inconsistent with the maintenance of his Brahmanical caste. His residence under our roof was of a very pleasing nature both to him and us. From all that we then saw of him we had every reason to believe that he was sincerely con-

vinced of the truth of Christianity, and of his duty to embrace and follow Christ with all his heart. But Satan was envious of our pleasure and his profit. He stirred up the father to procure an order through the Raja from the British Resident for Baba's surrender.

"I remonstrated and appealed to Calcutta, but in vain. Baba was given up, and he was forthwith thrown into prison for the crime of breaking caste and professing his faith in Jesus. The argument which may have weighed with the British authorities in inducing them to act as they did is perhaps Baba's age, which is not much more than fourteen years. This would be enough to free him from his parents' jurisdiction according to British law, but I suppose a youth does not attain the privilege of acting for himself among Hindus until the age of sixteen. Possibly as he is the subject of a Hindu prince this principle was acted on in his case. However, this was not the reason assigned by Captain Ramsay. He referred to a treaty which would warrant him following the same course in regard to a man of sixty years of age. That treaty, however, has been modified by subsequent engagements, and instead of the Raja being absolute in the government of his subjects, as he was recognised to be by the treaty adduced, he is now limited by the advice of the Resident, who can interfere in the administration of justice and all other matters, internal as well as external, and besides see that his representations are attended to. The British have the perfect right to prevent the Raja doing wrong to Baba Pandurang if they like. That the poor boy has been allowed to lie in jail for about two months now while a British political functionary living on the spot is fully aware of the fact, and has about 6000 soldiers at his beck to put a stop to the grievous injustice if he chose, only shows how utterly indifferent the British Government in India is to Christianity—nay, what a guilt it incurs in actually giving up a young disciple of Christ to be persecuted for his religion by a Raja who is wholly under British control. If at the time of despatching the memorial I had known the stipulations of recent treaties there might have been introduced arguments stronger than those employed—arguments which would have covered the British Government with shame in the estimation of all thinking men.

"I have sent the whole circumstances of the case for publication in India. This under God seems to open up the only prospect of deliverance for dear Baba from his protracted captivity. Think of the situation of the poor lad: Associated with thieves, etc., who have no sympathy with him, as with all their dishonesty they do not consider they have done anything in violation of their religion, continually

exposed to the arts of designing Brahmans who, whether they approach him in the guise of friends or the garb of avowed enemies, are in either case opposed to his real welfare, debarred from all intercourse with Christian friends, deprived of his accustomed intellectual studies, and especially of the perusal of that Word which might be his comfort in his affliction! I trust, however, that the Lord, who cannot be shut out from any place, is with him; and if the Lord is his portion what else need he want? Hitherto, so far as I can learn, he has given his testimony for Christ, and as to-morrow will be the end of the seventh week of his imprisonment I would fain hope that by his patience and fortitude he may weary out the hostility of his enemies. Though he should make something like a compliance in order to escape from captivity it would be no marvel, for he is naturally of a delicate bodily frame and an amiable mental disposition that would more readily yield than resist. If this supposition should be realised, I will still cling to the belief that by God's grace, and the admonitions of the Word and the mission, he might be recovered and restored. Dear R., it is an anxious time. Strange questions often arise in my mind in these circumstances about the perseverance of saints. Pray for Baba and the mission. . . .

"I was gratified by the receipt of your letter with its enclosure from my old friend. Sorry that in the latter there is no room for a word about Christ. He was always reserved in his manner, and he may still be so on the subject of religion, though he may know it by experience. But if his heart were as full of piety as of entomology, would there not be a more proportionate external manifestation of each? Too often is it seen that geology or some other secular science completely overlies the knowledge of salvation.

"*8th September.*—My birthday. Already have thirty-one years rolled over my head. Serious thought! Oh, how little do I know of the Scriptures! How little do I feel of the grace of God! How little have I done for Christ! How far have I been from fulfilling my duty as a creature! from walking worthy of my vocation as a Christian, and from labouring in season and out of season as a minister, especially a missionary whose office is the most arduous and responsible of any. My conscience condemns me, and God the Omniscient and the Most Holy condemns me also. Let this, then, be my resource—there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, and as I come in Christ to God anew for His mercy, may I seek at the same time more grace, that henceforth I may not walk after the flesh but after the spirit. My dearest Robert, I hope you

know somewhat the value of religion, and although you may not feel much comfort, yet you still hold on in a dependence on Christ's righteousness and Christ's strength, hoping that you will yet see the light of God's countenance here on earth, and see the Saviour face to face in the world to come. Remember me with all the love of a brother, and Erasma with all the affection of a sister, to your dear wife and the members of our family at Arbroath and Duns. Alexander's appeal at the latter place was very touching. Do you think I will ever see my native town again to tell the inhabitants of the dark heathen lands, which are the abodes of horrid cruelty? I wish to leave that matter to God, and not to be greatly anxious about it. I feel a strong attachment to Nagpoor. This controversy connected with Baba has sometimes suggested the thought that there is no door open for us here if all inquirers are to be given up to the Raja. The idea of leaving sends a pang through my heart.—Your very affectionate

"STEPHEN."

The convert Brahman was delivered up by Mr. Hislop on the 22d July; not till September did he appeal from the silent Paramount Power to the public conscience through the press, which conscience so worked that in due time toleration triumphed over the most absolute government, Hindu and British. The *Friend of India* weekly newspaper proved to be true to its name and its history since Carey and Joshua Marshman had first published it as a monthly magazine. The editor, Mr. John Marshman, being on his annual holiday in the worst month of the Bengal year, which precedes the cool season of October to March, Dr. Duff had agreed to supply an article every week. On the 12th October 1848 accordingly there appeared a leader headed "The Nagpoor Case." In three columns the journal stated the facts on both sides; in other three it discussed the principles involved with a calm impartiality, but unmistakable firmness, which practically settled the whole matter. The article thus concluded: "Remembering how slowly, and after what fearful struggles even the most enlightened of the nations of Europe came to comprehend aright and consistently act upon the principles

of toleration in matters of opinion, religion, and conscience, we ought to be antecedently prepared to make the utmost allowance for the native princes and durbars of India. But while the British Government ought to exercise much patience and forbearance towards them, it is plainly its imperative duty not to compromise its own high character, nor to prove unfaithful to its own ennobling principles. As the constituted guardian of all the grandest interests of our common humanity in the east, it is its sublime vocation to spread the shield of protection over the oppressed, and to blunt the edge of the sword in the hands of the oppressor; to mitigate the severities of tyrannical rule, and to initiate alike prince and subjects into the elevating lessons of civil and religious liberty. And whenever example, instruction or counsel may fail in the case of really or nominally independent allies, it must at once consult its dignity and its duty by standing wholly aloof, and peremptorily refusing to connive at, far less participate in, the guilt of the most obnoxious of all conceivable acts of oppression—even that of attempting in matters of faith, and through the coarse instrumentality of pains and penalties, to enforce the conscience of which the great Creator alone is the sovereign Lord."

The *Bengal Hurkara*, which Sir John Kaye was editing about that time, took the same view, and a controversy arose in the newspapers with the best results. Hislop wrote in his own name to the Serampore weekly paper stating that the support of the Raja by the Government of India, which left at his mercy for so long a time a poor delicate youth "whose only fault was that he had the courage to profess what he sincerely believed," must be due to defective information. "In order to enable you to judge of the Raja's disposition I may mention that about a year ago, on his discovering that a servant employed in his palace was in the habit of reading

tracts received from the mission, he took them from the young man and, tearing them in pieces in a great rage threatened "that he would break his legs and confine him in a dungeon till he died." After correspondence on both sides, the *Friend of India*—Mr. John Marshman this time—summed up the case thus: "While we consider it a matter of Christian duty to give *both* the statements which have been sent to us, our warmest sympathies are with the sacred cause in which Mr. Hislop is engaged, and nothing will give us greater satisfaction than to learn that all animosities have subsided, and that he and his colleagues are enabled to pursue their labours without impediment."

Meanwhile, to procure the liberation of the victim of Brahmanical intolerance and British indifference, the missionaries pledged themselves not to receive him so long as he was under sixteen years of age. But for two and a half months after that pledge had been given, or for a hundred and ten days in all, Baba Pandurang was kept in prison night and day, side by side with "a murderer before his trial adulterers after their trial, and many such like characters.' He had been incarcerated by order of the Raja's *upadhya* or sanhedrim for the crime of breaking caste and refusing to be restored. He yielded at last to three and a half months of such treatment, and was allowed to live in the veranda of his father's house as an outcast, after he had been again before the *upadhya*. In March 1849 he began to steal to school, dreading alike his father and the Raja's punishment "Such," wrote Hislop on 6th June, "is the termination of the course of policy which has been followed by Europeans and Marathas towards this unhappy youth. It is a policy which, so far from losing any of its revolting features in our eyes by the completeness of its success, is on that account all the more worthy of cordial indignation. If it had been followed towards an established Christian, whom the Spirit

of God enabled to triumph over every form of opposition, the pertinacity with which it was persisted in would not have moved us so much." But Baba Pandurang was as truly Christ's as Simon Peter in the dark hours between the feet-washing at the Supper and the cock-crowing of the crucifixion morn. Satan had desired to have both that he might sift them as wheat; but of the penitent Brahman as of the Apostle who wrote such a letter to the saints of the dispersion were the divine words true,—"I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and when thou art converted strengthen thy brethren." The persecuted Brahman boy became for several years the preacher of Christ.

This proved to be the last of those notorious cases of intolerance and persecution which marked the earlier years of the history of the Christian Church of India. Since that time an individual judge may have done injustice, like him who, at the bidding of faction, both imprisoned a Church of England missionary, and scoffingly sent back to Hinduism for a time a Bengali convert. So uncertain, however, is the law not only in the British courts,[1] but in Native States, and so variable may be the character and actions of the political officials who guide these States, that Hislop's review of the principles involved should be put on record. This is the more necessary when even at the present day the highest of the political officers of the Government of India has striven to crush a mission in Holkar's State, and has publicly given this advice to the Marathas: "Cherish and observe your ancient and noble religion, cherish and observe strictly your rules of caste, which missionaries and philanthropists tell you is a bad thing, but which is in reality the mortar which holds together the building of Indian society. If you

[1] See Appendix I. for the most recent case, of the Sikh, Natha Singh, in which section 363 of the Indian Penal Code was applied by the Assistant-Commissioner of Sialkot to secure toleration.

take it away nothing will be left but ruins." Truly an unconscious prophecy of the Caiaphas kind! Against that we may set the modern toleration even of Mohammedan Haidarabad, where the late Sir Salar Jung gave the Free Church of Scotland, represented by a Brahman missionary, lands for its converts; of Hindu and Mohammedan Rajpootana, where the most ancient dynasties on earth vie with each other in welcoming the Scottish missionaries whom Dr. Wilson first introduced; and of the Sikh Kaparthala, the princely representative of which rode first of the feudatories of India in the jubilee procession of the Queen-Empress, and the princess by his side was the daughter of one of Dr. Duff's ordained converts!

That a just Resident will always secure toleration even in the State of an unjust Raja, and that for a time a Resident may fall lower than the most intolerant feudatory prince, is the lesson of Mr. Hislop's review of the case of Baba Pandurang: —"In affording a refuge on British soil to that Brahman youth, who wished to become a Christian, we conceived we were acting only on the recognised practice of Britain, which opens her territories to all refugees; and, if they have been guilty of no moral offence according to the laws of their adopted country, shields them from tyranny of every kind. Now the British law had just previously been declared by the Supreme Court of Madras to be, that if a youth is aggrieved by his parents he may, on showing that he is possessed of the requisite discretion, choose a guardian for himself. And to me it appears that this decision is one of the utmost importance to the interests of justice, both theoretically and practically. Theoretically, it stands to reason, that if a youth be responsible to God for his creed and conduct before the legal age for managing his worldly affairs, he should be permitted to believe and act as the will of the Most High seems to him to require. It may be said that this privilege of

independent judgment should be exercised under the parental roof. If it be possible, by all means, let it be so. But who, that knows anything of the views or spirit of Hindu parents, will reckon toleration among their virtues? And so long as native society remains as it is—so long as superstitious bigotry *will* tyrannise over enlightened conscience—so long also as the pestilential atmosphere of heathenism tends to destroy the first symptoms of spiritual life, there *ought* to be that relief given to the youthful inquirer after Christianity, which the provisions of British law as interpreted in Madras afford. And practically the test of discretion is the only one which can be applied to such cases. When a pupil of a Mission school is brought into court, because he wishes to follow Christianity, how melancholy is the exhibition of fraud and falsehood regarding his age! Witness conspires with witness to attest the youth's minority, and the horoscope, to which *he* can have no access from the time suspicion is awakened against him, is falsified to confirm the testimony. In these circumstances, is it not a satisfaction of the highest sort to a judge's mind, to set aside all the lying evidence of the witnesses as unnecessary, and, by an examination of the youth on the spot, proceed to ascertain for himself, in a way that cannot be mistaken, his fitness to be entrusted in religious matters with the liberty of self-control?

"Our ideas of the sacredness of the rights of conscience on British soil were not sustained by the acting Resident. He referred to a treaty of 1816, in which the Raja's absolute authority over his subjects in his own territories was acknowledged, and in which it was stipulated that all discontented fugitives should be given up to his jurisdiction. Strange, that a youth, anxious about the salvation of his soul, should have been ranked in the same category with criminals and political offenders: but stranger still, that this old treaty should have been considered by the acting Resident as never

having been altered by subsequent engagements. Why, this was the treaty which was made before the commencement of the war, that laid the kingdom of Nagpoor prostrate at the feet of the British Government—a war that ended in the deposition of the reigning monarch, and in the appointment of a British commission to rule over the country in the name of the young prince whom we elevated to the throne. This was the treaty which was modified by those of 1826 and 1829, in which it was provided that the Raja now come of age, instead of being absolute over his people within his own country, or having unlimited power to bring them back when they fled beyond its boundary, should himself be ruled by the advice of the Resident in every important matter, whether in the internal or external management of his dominions. However, the order of the acting Resident was complied with, and the boy was given up to the Raja, who kept him in prison for upwards of three months and a half for having expressed his desire to be a Christian. We forwarded to Calcutta a memorial on the subject, in which we acquainted the Supreme Government with the fact of the imprisonment. It was in vain. The acting Resident's measures were approved of. Now if they had been only the measures of the acting Resident, they would not have been of so much consequence. A succeeding Resident might disallow the policy of his predecessor. But when that policy becomes by adoption the policy of the Supreme Government itself, it is a precedent for all succeeding Residents to follow, and therefore it concerns us to see clearly what its real nature is.

"What are the principles, then, which it involves? First, that all discontented subjects—meaning thereby, amongst other classes of evil doers, all converts to Christianity, old or young—who seek protection to their consciences on British soil, are on the demand of their heathen Prince to be surrendered to his absolute authority. And it is, moreover, implied, that if

any one shall be convicted in that Raja's court of the crime of having judged for himself in religious matters, he shall suffer any amount of imprisonment that His Highness may be pleased to appoint, even though the punishment be brought to the notice of the British Government, and it have the power of interfering for the suppression of injustice within the Raja's dominions. Now, if these are the principles which henceforth are to be acted on at Nagpoor—and that they have been sanctioned by the highest authority in India, no one can warrantably deny—what room, I would ask, is there for our Mission amongst the Marathi-speaking population, for whose benefit mainly it was intended? As often as a subject of the Raja is touched by divine truth, and attempts to join himself to the Church of Christ at Sitabaldi, immediately on a representation from His Highness he must be apprehended by peons, carried before the British Resident, and by him sent to Nagpoor to be condemned to a lingering confinement, or any other punishment, at the sovereign pleasure of the Maratha ruler. At this rate, just in proportion as God blesses us, will the British authorities thwart and obstruct us. Is the British Government prepared to take on itself such a serious responsibility? Are the Churches of the living God willing that a Mission, which was established under manifest tokens of the Lord's own guidance, the only one for some hundreds of miles on every side, shall have its converts snatched from it, and its operations impeded and frustrated by a Christian Government? If this is the treatment to which our Mission is to be subjected, what better line of policy can be expected to be followed towards any Mission, that may hereafter be established in a Native State?"

The Mutiny of 1857 answered that, although even Lord Canning's Government gagged by law the *Friend of India* for expressing a hope that when the next centenary comes round—

seventy years hence—all the feudatory sovereigns of India may be Christian. But in Nagpoor, at least, neither Resident nor Raja ever again tried intolerance or persecution of any faith —only of women. The Raja's principal queen pined in the Zanana for light, for knowledge, for at least the power to read, which some of the noblest of the Maratha women had enjoyed. It was in vain; so she sent her sister Lulloo Bai, still too young to be shut up, to Mrs. Hislop's school, that the girl might repeat in the palace all she was taught. Her cousin accompanied her, but the Brahmanical *upadhya* was powerful even against the royal Zanana, and the girls were soon withdrawn.

An acting Resident of a very different stamp from some of his predecessors came temporarily to Nagpoor from Bhopal, where he had made himself beloved, Henry Durand. On his return from Madras in 1851, Stephen Hislop found him there. The two men at once drew to each other. Most significant of friendly intercourse and almost daily courtesies is the bundle of "chits," or short notes, which we find in the Hislop papers, relating to books, newspapers by the mail, public events at home and matters of local interest. Where one predecessor had declared only that he would not oppose the opening of a Christian mission in Nagpoor, and another had complained of the boldness with which this had been done in the capital, and another had handed over a convert to the tender mercies of a royal Maratha gaoler, Colonel Durand visited the schools, profited by the English services, delighted in the cultured society of the missionaries. He even publicly presided at the closing examination of the Mission schools in December 1851, when he inspected 345 boys and 48 girls—of whom 35 were learning English—in three Nagpoor and two Sitabaldi schools, apart from those in Kamthi. Even from the professedly "faint outline" of the Resident's address to the youths, as given in the local news-

paper, we can imagine the changes wrought by Hislop and his colleague alike in their teaching and in their contending for the light. Alluding to the greatness of England and her high position among nations, he pointed to the sacred Scriptures as the true means whereby her eminence had been gained. *The Book* he emphatically declared to be the foundation of her power and usefulness. He commended the Raja for offering no obstruction to the establishment of a school in the heart of the city, and wished the Mission all success. He bore testimony, after personal inspection, to the excellent working of the system of education under the unwearied superintendence of Messrs. Hunter and Hislop. The local reporter adds with significant quaintness: "The meeting opened and closed with prayer, a custom which, however appropriate to all honest undertakings, was peculiarly applicable on the occasion in question."

What Durand witnessed then of the reforms effected in a Native State by Christian education, following what he knew of his friend Dr. Duff's earlier success in Bengal, seems to have led him to send a remarkable letter to his old chief, Lord Ellenborough, to which current controversies in and regarding India give a powerful meaning:—

"26*th May* 1853.— . . . I am anxious on one point, for your enemies have already sought to damage your position as leader of Indian reform by taking as a weapon against you the question of education. Retrogression on that particular is impracticable, but query whether there really be the least cause for apprehension because Calcutta baboos and their children murder Milton and Shakespear.

"In the far future a storm may be descried, but it is one during the raging of which our temporal supremacy will be indispensable to confine the conflict to the weapons of argument and persuasion, and to preclude or put down physical force polemics. The conflict *will* come between light and darkness, truth and error, but not yet for a long time, so far as one may judge by the progress of the truth in its invasion of the territory of error. When the conflict comes it will be long and arduous, but not, I should think, so long as it lasted, un-

favourable to our rule. When the truth shall be dominant the Asiatic will change his character, but not till then, which is far centuries off. Unless the Spirit of God act with the energy of the first century of our era we run greater danger from undertaking too many things at once, and extending empire faster than our House of Commons is prepared to supply troops. One word from your lordship in favour of sound, practical Christian education, would do much good."

Durand so used his brief influence with the Raja that His Highness promised to grant sites for buildings suited for the Christian schools if the Mission raised funds to erect them, in place of the miserable rooms which called forth the Resident's emphatic condemnation. Mr. Hislop's Church at home sent Colonel Durand a formal letter of thanks for his testimony to "the value of our Institutions in their religious and scientific bearings (the latter being viewed by us as strictly allied to the former), and for placing these in a proper light before the Raja." Durand had used this language in his address, which time is doing much to verify—"One and twenty years ago a friend of mine, Dr. Duff, landed in Calcutta and started such an Institution as I see in embryo here. It grew rapidly into a most noble establishment, and has sent into the world many able men. Why should not this Institution honourably rival that one, expand into as noble proportions, and produce as great and gratifying results, or even greater?"

Truly, the tide had turned, but there was to be one more conflict. Samuel Hardy, the Madrasi evangelist who had helped Perumal to Christ, was selling tracts in the villages when he was surrounded and conducted between two armed men to the Mission house at his own request. Finding that he had promised to go with them to the palace the missionaries accompanied him, and on refusing to take off their boots, because they showed the European sign of respect by uncovering the head, they were quietly ushered into the court of the Vakeel. Before him and all the palace

dignitaries, Hislop, writes his colleague, pleaded for liberty of conscience with such consummate skill that Samuel was set free, and liberty to sell tracts all over the State was formally conceded. Both parties duly reported the facts to the British authorities.

Mr. Mansel, a well-known civilian of the old school, who had given way to Sir R. Montgomery as a colleague of Henry and John Lawrence in the Panjab, succeeded as Resident of Nagpoor State in 1852. He began his administration in the spirit of Colonel Durand, so far as to subscribe Rs. 200 annually to the Mission schools in the character of "a well-wisher of the secular sc[redacted]d results of all educational establishments in India." He inspected the Institution in Nagpoor city on 21st May 1852, examining the classes in Marathi and English, and he presided at the examination at the close of the session. He showed such energy at the first in attempting to reform abuses in the Raja's Government, that Mr. Hislop was encouraged to represent to him the still existing scandals of the British connection with idolatry. The agitation in England caused by the East India Company's application to Parliament for that charter of 1853, which proved to be its last, had begun. Hislop had written, "We do not expect to see a termination put to the annual encouragement given to idolatry here, unless the holy influence of Christians at home be brought to bear on the British Government and the Court of Directors for this end." The directors were working the press with the object of convincing the public that such abuses had ceased, and they were preparing official documents for the next session of Parliament for the same end. Accordingly Mr. Mansel was not reluctant to take up a question locally which had proved a stone of stumbling to his predecessors. The friendliness which he had from the first shown to Hislop, because of their joint interest in geological investigations, was thus strengthened

for the highest ends. The inquiry began with a formal circular to the Mission, asking for detailed instances of abuses due to the British support of idolatry. We have no copy of the reply, but its nature may be gathered from this letter to Mr. Robert Hislop:—

"NAGPOOR, 11*th November* 1852.— . . . I wrote to Mr. Mansel against the inscription of an idol's name at the commencement of official documents in Marathi; against the use of Ganges water in the administration of oaths to natives, and the reported annual payment to a heathen temple from the Residency Treasury. I concluded with some remarks on the Dasara and Holi. I am happy to say that the correspondence, instead of exciting a storm of ind[redacted]n as might have been apprehended, has done good. The first two abuses are to be abolished, the existence of the third is doubted, which is the same as its being discontinued, and the Holi and Dasara are defended by weak arguments, but still arguments that imply a good will to the Mission. The way in which the case is put is this. I cannot myself abolish these practices, and while they continue I use them for the purpose of acquiring an influence over the Raja's mind, which I can turn to account even for the benefit of the Mission should it require anything more from the Resident than perfect neutrality. Such was the substance of Mr. M.'s reasoning, which was accompanied by his half-yearly subscription of about £10 to our schools. In thanking him for his liberality, I observed that I rejoiced that *by treaty* he was invested with so much influence within the Raja's dominions.

"Since then we have been invited to a grand entertainment at the Palace, which took place on 8th inst. It is the first thing of the kind at which I have been, though I was once asked to a Review display of the Raja's, but not at the Palace. On this recent occasion there were about eighty or ninety British officers present, and one Romish bishop and three priests. When I saw them there I thought there would be some collision about the asking of a blessing, for you must know Mr. Mansel is a Romanist. However, there was no difficulty. I was alone called on. The entertainment was a strange one for a Hindu to give, as the bill of fare included beef, which is an abomination to the follower of the Shastras. But there was the Raja though not eating, for caste will not allow him to eat with Europeans, still countenancing the unclean viands with his presence. Wine, etc., is also a prohibited article among Hindus; but there was no lack, and it is

said that the Raja approves of a glass of brandy in secret very regularly. The sort of drawing-room was splendidly furnished with a solid silver table and chairs. If my dearest E. had been able to go, she would have seen the jewels on the four Ranis or queens, which by all accounts are superb. I was introduced to His Highness by the Resident, but like all the rest had no opportunity of conversing with him. However, I had a long talk with the Raja's nearest relation, and with two young men, one of whom, if there be any successor, will likely become king on the Raja's death. There was something very Eastern in the number of lights and fountains with which the palace was surrounded. But it is lamentable to think how low are the tastes of Oriental monarchs. I saw there was a dancing girl exhibiting before the Raja at one part of the evening's proceedings, though not where I was. You may judge of the intellectual advancement of the nobility when I tell you that one of His Highness's relatives has just been appointed to an office similar to that of Lord Chancellor. He can neither read nor write in his own language. . . ."

Direct British rule was soon to bring all such abuses to an end, but there was to be one more conflict to end in the vindication, by the Maratha sovereign himself, of liberty of conscience. Ganu Lingapa, a Telugu from the south, whose people had settled among the Marathas of Nagpoor, had long been impressed under the missionaries' teaching with a feeling of his sins and the truth of Christianity. On the 29th July 1853 he sought admission into the Christian Church. He was seventeen years of age. The father, wrote Hislop to his brother, "follows the same honourable occupation of builder as did our own."

"NAGPOOR, *25th August* 1853.— . . . Remembering the unsatisfactory position in which affairs had been left between the Mission and the political authorities by the case of Baba Pandurang, we in the early part of that day consulted the Resident as to the policy which he and the Raja would follow. Mr. Mansel was too liberal to hold the opinion that all Christian converts of whatever age should be given up to the Raja to be punished as 'discontented subjects,' and was inclined to hold and to recommend to His Highness that youths on attaining the age of sixteen should be free to act in religious matters as they

chose. He promised to confer with the Raja on the point, and we hoped that in that quarter things were in a proper train. Ganu came according to his appointment, and expressed his desire for baptism. We would not, however, allow him to break his caste as a preparatory step to entering the Christian fold until he had gone through the ordeal of an interview with his father. We sent for the latter, and for about two hours he remained in conversation with his son, endeavouring to induce him to return home with him to heathenism, but in vain. When he found that his arguments failed, he laid hold on Ganu, and attempted to carry him off by force. As his single physical strength was not sufficient for this he left our house to bring a reinforcement of his caste people. In the evening a party of fifty karagirs (builders) arrived, and tried to break into our house. In three hours after dark they kept up a tumult in our verandah, when Mr. Mansel, to whom I had sent a note informing him of our apprehensions of violence, caused them to be dispersed. He considered it enough, however, that next day though living on British soil we should be placed under the protection of the native Government, whose vakeel or ambassador was charged with the duty of keeping the Nagpoor people quiet.

"In this the Resident committed a sad mistake, as he should have known that no dependence was to be placed in a native Government when the interests of heathenism were concerned. Next morning droves of people were seen coming from the city to our bungalow, till at last they amounted to 400. For a time they were respectful; but seeing no peon on the spot to check rioting, they began to shout and threaten, and in the end they made a determined attack upon us, smashing the panes of glass and forcing in the doors. Ganu, whose mind had been kept for hour upon hour on the rack, became greatly afraid, and what with the tears of his relatives who threatened to kill themselves, and the noise of others who menaced his life, he lost heart and gave himself up to the mob, who carried him off to the city. Had he not escaped from our house at the time he did I did not think our own lives would have been safe, as without a single constable or magistrate to protect us, our little band of native Christians, who to the number of a dozen made a brave defence, were wholly in the hands of the infuriated crowd. Ganu has since continued in the city, sad in spirit because he does not believe in Hinduism, though he is not willing now to renew his request for baptism."

"22*d October*.—. . . I regret to say Ganu is still among the heathen. Two ringleaders, who were British subjects under the Resident's own

jurisdiction, have been condemned to an imprisonment of two and six months respectively, while other two, who were under military authority, have been tried by court-martial this week, and will certainly be punished, though the particular penalty has not yet been published. While in regard to the rioters from the city, who were subjects of the Raja, His Highness has agreed to bear all the blame for them, and as an acknowledgment of the remissness of his government on the day of the tumult, and compensation for the injury done by his people to the mission, he has paid the sum of 1000 Nagpoor rupees—about £85. Yesterday his ambassador waited on us with the money. The interview was calculated, I hope, to subserve the good of the mission. Mr. Mansel meant it to support its dignity, and we employed it as an occasion for explaining to the representatives of his Maratha majesty the doctrines of the Christian faith."

Ganu remained an unbaptized Christian for two or three years when, in a secret interview with Mr. Hislop, he declared his unabated desire "to follow Christ." Before he could testify by baptism his fidelity to the Master he was removed by cholera. Meanwhile the Raja himself was suddenly called away. The difficult time of transition from Maratha to British administration was to bring care and even hurt to Hislop. But in an eight years' struggle he had won for his own and all future converts, in the Central Provinces of India, freedom to worship God.

CHAPTER V

THE MARATHA STATE BECOMING A BRITISH PROVINCE

How a Hindu Raja dies—What his family and people think—Hislop's account—Effect in Anglo-Indian circles—Lord Dalhousie attacked by paid agitators—His answer in the Parliamentary Blue Book—Collapse of the opposition—Attempt of Palace place-holders to keep the state property—Government sells it to pension the Ranees—Incapacity of the officiating commissioner—Hislop beaten nearly to death by a mob who mistake him for an official—"In perils by the heathen, in perils in the city"—His own narrative—Mal-administration by the new commission—Generous use of compensation given to him for assault—His character of Robert Nesbit—Entomological pursuits—General and Mrs. Colin Mackenzie at Elichpoor—Berar becomes British—Bal Dewa first fruit of the mission there—Hislop's influence on English officers—Baptism of three converts and two women—Fearing and Valiant for the Truth—Dr. Hunter returns to Scotland—Appeal for Nagpoor Institution building—Dr. Duff's visit—Eloquent plea for development of the mission—Hislop and his family on tour—Coal discovery—The Gonds—Growing kindliness of the people of all classes.

TOWARDS the close of the year 1853 Nagpoor became ordinary British territory for the second time. Raghoji Bhosla III. died on the 11th December, unexpectedly and without a natural heir, but after frequent solicitation to adopt a boy on the part of the British Resident, who was personally anxious to see the Maratha State continued. In a few hours all that was left in this world of the feudatory sovereign, whom the Marquis of Hastings had set up, in the dream—never yet fulfilled in any case—that he would rule the millions of the people wisely, was a handful of ashes, to be mingled with the sacred waters of the Godavari. No

one mourned for the dead man, with whose body twenty thousand rupees' worth of jewels had perished. His hand had been heavy on all but the ministers of his pleasures and exactions. They lamented, intrigued, and plotted to retain some vestige at least of their power, and some hope of future gains. Brahman priests united for the hour with Mohammedan parasites, and both offered their services to the ladies of the Zanana, whom the deceased had alternately neglected and outraged. Among the six Ranees there was one venerable woman, the Dowager Baki Bai, who had all the ability of the best women of her race, but that had always been directed to the most reactionary ends, and she was already seventy-five years of age. The elder Rani of the dead man, though young, was still less fitted to be regent, even had she not been childless, for she was a mere creature of the hareem. He left four other childless widows, of whom the same may be said, save that two of them had sought deliverance from the indescribable misery of their lot by attempting to attend Mrs. Hislop's mission school. There was a widow of the rebel Apa Saheb, and there were the other nameless ladies, slaves, and sexless creatures, who make the polygamous collections of Hindu and Mohammedan nobles, even to this day, a union of Canaanite Sodom and Hellenic Corinth.

"NAGPOOR, 3*d January* 1854.—. . . The most important news I have to communicate is the death of the Raja of Nagpoor, which took place on 11th December last. He was not supposed to be in any danger until within a few hours of his decease. He had no medical attendant except a Mussulman boy of about fifteen years of age, who was physician to the Court because his father was so before him. He left no son of his own, had adopted none, and died without signifying any wish as to what should be done on his death. The Resident hastened to the palace as soon as he learned that His Highness was seriously ill, but found him either dead or unconscious.

"Intelligence of the event was immediately despatched to the Governor-General, who, however, happened to be in Burma at the

time. This will delay the receipt of any reply for about a month. Speculations are very abundant as to the disposal of the country. It is entirely in the power of the British, and will be dealt with just as they think fit. Some suppose that it will not be annexed till the death of an old dowager queen named Baka Bai, who is now about seventy-five years of age. In that case it will be governed by a commission from the first. Of course the natives in the city, who depend for subsistence a good deal on the presence of royalty, would prefer that a Hindu king should be appointed. The two nearest-of-kin are Eshwant Rao and Apa Saheb. Eshwant Rao, who is nearer than the other, is not a favourite in the city, though he is an acquaintance of mine, and frequently visits at our house.

"Apa Saheb has been nominated by Baka Bai to act the part of chief mourner in the Raja's funeral rites. The corpse of His Highness was burned a few hours after he expired, and along with it there were committed to the flames all the jewels he was in the habit of wearing—gold, pearls, diamonds, and other precious stones. The value was estimated at Rs. 70,000, but I believe Rs. 20,000 more nearly correct. Some days after his death the planet Venus was seen to shine while the sun was high in the heavens. The city people in general thought it was a new star set in the firmaments as the abode of the late king's soul. Some, however, thought it was a very unlucky sign.

"On the 30th December we had our usual annual examination of the city schools. The Resident was not able in consequence of multiplicity of business to preside, though I daresay after the case of Ganu he was glad to be absent. Colonel Cotton took the chair. There was an average attendance of Europeans. But the principal feature was the increased interest evinced in our operations by some of the leading men in Nagpoor. Eshwant Rao was one of those present. Another was a fakeer, who rides about the streets on a stick for a horse like a child. He passes for a man of no ordinary holiness among both Mussulmans and Hindus. The Raja till the day of his death was in the habit of allowing him a monthly salary on the supposition that through his ghostly influence he would be blessed with a son and heir. It is thus that the poor children of darkness are deceived.

"I am concerned about Eshwant Rao, as about three weeks ago he was bitten by a mad dog, and allowed the wound to remain without any application save an abundance of charms. I did not hear of the occurrence till three days after it had taken place. On the fourth day I persuaded him to have it cauterised, but the benefit of such a remedy must be very problematical after such a delay. A horse that was

bitten at the same time is already dead. Those calamities are very frequent in this land. A month ago three men died that were bitten by the same rabid jackal that had entered their village from the jungle."

The news of the Nagpoor Raja's death excited no little discussion in Anglo-Indian circles, both in India and in London during the months of silence kept by the Government of India until the Court of Directors and Board of Control could sanction its proposal, whatever that might turn out to be. The best English journals in India pronounced most clearly against the policy of again tempting failure at the expense of four millions of our native subjects, by a second time handing them over to the tender mercies of a Maratha stranger. For there was no lineal or adopted heir. The only possible successors named were two youths, of whom the best that could be said by their self-interested supporters was this—the first, aged eighteen, was the son of a daughter of a sister of the adoptive father of the late Raja, amiable and sickly; the second lad was a son of a son of a sister of the adoptive grandfather, dissipated and violent. The leading journal in India which, as such, had given but half-hearted and reluctant support to Mr. Hislop in his fight for toleration, now did him full justice in its answer to the plea that, however bad a new native ruler might turn out to be, the British Resident would control him. "The Resident may become, under the provisions of the treaty, the instrument, willingly or unwillingly, of wrong. When the first inquirer went to the Nagpoor missionaries the Raja demanded his restoration as 'a discontented subject,' obtained it through the Resident, and imprisoned him. That is not a fact to be forgotten, even if Captain Ramsay were right in his construction of the treaty. It showed at least the animus of the Native Court. It is the same in Oudh."

The Brahmans and Mussulmans of the palace lost not an

hour in fighting for their threatened position. A century's experience had taught the corrupt classes in every State the incorruptibility of the Indian civil service, indeed, with a very few exceptions, after the Nabob era, which, before the Reform Bill, demoralised English political life. But there has always been a class of agents ready to take a brief from India and to advocate any claims whatever in the press and in public assemblies, not as paid lawyers or agitators, but professing to be disinterested patriots and even statesmen. Misled by such the British public and Parliament have sometimes compelled the Government of the day to sacrifice the dearest interests of millions of our Indian subjects to the appetite for money and lust of pleasure of an adopted stranger or pensioner. It is the glory of Henry Fawcett that he was at once the greatest and the purest of Indian reformers—the most righteous adviser of the princes, and the most intelligent sympathiser with the peoples of India. But there was no Henry Fawcett in Parliament in 1854, and for a little the Nagpoor case fell low into the hands and purses of the class of advocates of whom we hope to see no more.

Lord Dalhousie's mouth was shut officially for eight months—as his private journals are still unhappily locked up for other twenty-three years—until Parliament published the Nagpoor Blue Book. Then the paid, though apparently disinterested, opposition to his policy suddenly collapsed, in the face of facts and arguments which could not be resisted. That opposition had the one merit of compelling the Governor-General to publish to the world the truth regarding the character and the rule of Raghoji Bhosla III., which the council had kept back during his absence in the Panjab, to the detriment of Mr. Hislop and the principles for which he contended at last so triumphantly. It was thus that Lord Dalhousie met the self-interested argument for the perpetuation of a native cabinet in Nagpoor, when he resolved not to repeat there

the mistake made by Lord Hastings when they set up Raghoji after Apa Saheb's rebellion, and that made by Lord Hardinge in the Panjab after the first Sikh war, which had led to all the anarchy and bloodshed just brought to a close by the results of the second.

"On three several occasions, and in different parts of India, at Mysore, at Satara, at Nagpoor, the British Government during the last half century has tried the experiment of setting up a native sovereign over territories it had gained in war. Each experiment has signally failed.

"We set up a Raja at Mysore, and we have long since been obliged to assume direct management of the country, and to take out of the Raja's hands the power which he was found unfit to wield.

"We set up a Raja at Satara, and twenty years afterwards we were obliged to dethrone and to exile him.

"We set up a Raja at Nagpoor. We afforded him every advantage a native prince could command. His boyhood was trained under our own auspices; an able and respected princess was his guardian and the regent of his State. For ten years, while he was yet a youth, we governed his country for him. We handed it over to him, with an excellent system of administration in full and practised operation, with a disciplined and well-paid army, with a full treasury and a contented people. Yet, after little more than twenty years, this prince, descending to the tomb, has left behind him a character whose record is disgraceful to him alike as a sovereign and as a man. So favoured and so aided, he has, nevertheless, lived and died a seller of justice, a miser, a drunkard, and a debauchee.

"What guarantee can the British Government now find for itself, or offer to the people of Nagpoor, that another successor will not imitate and emulate this bad example? And if that should be the case, what justification could the

Government of India hereafter plead for having neglected to exercise the power which it possessed to avert for ever from the people of Nagpoor so probable and so grievous an evil?"

The annexation of Nagpoor by lapse was in the interests of the ladies of the royal Zanana and their dependants as much as in that of the four millions of peasantry and shopkeepers and their children to this hour. They were for the first time set free from the misery of their relation to the late Raja and his corrupt advisers, who had since made them their victims; and they were guaranteed most liberal stipends, which are paid to this day. The state jewels and royal property, which had belonged to the Government of India after Apa Saheb, and had been again entrusted to Raghoji so long as he ruled, were all disposed of for their benefit to meet these stipends, so far as it would go. The palace vultures, who had expected to pounce on the state jewels and other property, after a fashion which would have left little for the defenceless ladies of the Zanana, cried aloud through the native press and their paid agents in England, of "wholesale confiscations" and "sacrifice of personal property," till it seemed as if the case of the Princesses of Nagpoor would rival Sheridan's charge as to the Begums of Oudh. But what were the facts? The officiating Commissioner, who was now Captain Elliot, reported to the Government that the treasury contained property in money and jewels to the value of £750,000, and asked for instructions as to its disposal. He was told that the British Government waived all right to this property; to allot to the Ranees ("and their slaves"), jewels, furniture, and personal property suitable to their rank; and to realise the remainder for the benefit of the Bhosla family. Should the money prove insufficient, it engaged to make good what might be required to guarantee adequate stipends. The result was that it granted £30,000 a year in all to the ladies and their depend-

ants, a result which put them in a better position than they had ever enjoyed.

But the disappointed knot of priestly place-holders and menials found a vent for their rage. To their evil counsels and support was chiefly due the fact that the Rehoboam they had led to his early ruin could have no successor. They suffered justly when they fell with him, but they resolved not to fall without a stroke. They found their opportunity in the insouciance and incapacity of the British officials to whom, for the next six years, the new province was left under the pressure of events of such magnitude as the Mutiny of 1857, and the reorganisation of Northern India. Though well aware of the discontent of the palace retainers and their followers, the Commissioner took no extraordinary precautions to secure the public peace during the removal of the state property to the British Residency. It was allowed to become known that the transfer would be made on the 11th October 1854. At sunrise the plotters had gathered the city mob around the palace, armed with swords, bludgeons, and stones. The first official to arrive was a Mohammedan subordinate, who was dragged from his palankeen and left bleeding to death. Captain Crichton, the Assistant Commissioner, who followed, had an escort of only twenty-five native troopers, and the party was soon enclosed by the rioters, so that it was with difficulty that a message was sent to the Commissioner, who at once despatched the 10th Madras Native Infantry from Sitabaldi, and asked the Brigadier-General to order out a large force from Kamthi. The 10th Madras Native Infantry easily dispersed the crowd, and there was no further trouble at the palace. The senior Rani denied all knowledge of the plot, and disavowed all participation in the acts of the rioters. The moving spirit was said to be Eshwant Rao, one of the two pretenders already mentioned, and he was put in hold.

But the effect of the officiating Commissioner's weakness did not end with the posting of the Madras sepoys at the palace, and a larger infantry force around his own official residence and treasury. On the same morning, at the same early hour of sunrise, Stephen Hislop, the Scottish missionary, was visiting and inspecting his branch schools in the city. When passing from one to another through a quarter where he was not personally known, some of the rioters came upon him. Believing that he was one of the English officials they attacked him with mud, closed in around him with bludgeons, and when he silently attempted to make his way to his next school, looking in vain for a friendly face or open door, they pelted him with stones, as they shrieked at him—"Take the jewels; take the jewels." The *Bombay Times*, then the ablest journal in Western India, edited by the accomplished Dr. Buist, thus describes the scene: "Weakened from the loss of blood he fell to the ground, when the inhuman wretches, notwithstanding they saw him covered with blood, continued to assault him, and would in all probability have murdered him, but for the providential interposition of an old scholar, who told them that Mr. Hislop was a missionary and in no way connected with the Commissioner. The mob almost immediately desisted, and some even evinced compunction for what they had done, helping to lift Mr. Hislop from the ground. His pupil then conducted him to the house of a Maratha officer, who sent him in a palankeen under an escort of sepoys to the mission-house, where he arrived so covered with dust and blood that all that could be discovered was that he was a human being."

Mr. Hunter, his colleague, who with Mrs. Hislop received the sufferer, thus describes him: "The aspect he presented when carried home none who witnessed it will ever forget. On his head were ten deep gashes, while all over his body

were bruises; and the white dress he had worn was everywhere so saturated with blood that it was only from a small part beneath the knee that its original colour could be inferred. The native doctor, called in to shave the head of the expiring sufferer, fainted at the sight, and it required European nerve to do what was requisite in the case. Had he not naturally possessed a strong constitution it is impossible that he could have survived."

For the third time—to be followed by a fourth and then by a fifth and fatal event—Stephen Hislop was face to face with God. Like the first Christian missionary he might, in his degree, have described himself as "in deaths oft. . . . In journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea. . . . Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches." His marvellous vitality so far prevailed that in twelve days he was able thus to tell the story from his own point of view to his brother Robert. But he overtaxed his strength, and for two months longer he was kept to his couch by an effusion on the knee unobserved at the time he wrote:—

"NAGPOOR, 23*d October* 1854.— . . . You are aware that the British have annexed Nagpoor. Most of the people concerned in the measure are glad that it has taken place. The cultivators, who are scattered over the rural districts, to a man rejoice; but nobles, priests, and the dependants on the palace, who are crowded in the city, complain. However, all submitted to the annexation. But following necessarily from this step is another, viz. the claiming of the property of the Native Government. Of this the most precious portion are the jewels that successive Rajas had hoarded. The jewels had once been captured by our countrymen in war, and restored about the time our mission was established. And yet the relicts of the Maratha power took it into their head to claim them as private property, and they contrived to embue some of the lower classes of the city with the same view. On Wednesday 11th inst.,

therefore, when the British authorities determined to commence their removal, with a view of despatching them to Calcutta, a mob collected about the palace to maltreat those who were to carry the resolution into effect. Jamal-u-deen, a Mussulman in the service of our Government, first experienced their resentment, and Captain Crichton was the next to be attacked. The former was beaten with staves (a great indignity) and cut on the head with stones, while his palankeen was smashed to pieces; the latter, having a good many peons (policemen) to defend him, was enabled to retreat with only a few slight blows. It was my turn that day to pass through a considerable part of the city to examine branch schools. I looked into one, but finding a native Christian engaged in teaching Christianity to the pupils I went on to another. By the way I addressed a company of oilmen, who were seated on the ground holding a panchéyat (a court held by themselves for settling any matter that may arise in their caste, especially if it involved ceremonial defilement). They were just agreeing on their decision, which was to be, as the manner of oilmen generally is, that the offender should be fined in a certain amount of spirits for the regalement of all the caste men. I spent some time in remonstrating with them on the evil of their custom, to which they unanimously assented, though I fear their practice would not in the least be altered. Arrived at another school, I addressed the whole, young and old, along with some parents who were in the habit of assembling, on the fall of man and the prevalence of sin. From this school I was to visit a house, in which we propose to establish another branch; and my course necessarily led me past the palace.

"When I came near it, about 9 A.M., the events recorded above had already taken place, and the mob was stopping up the street ready for further mischief. As I entered them they opened a path for me, but ere long they closed in behind, and mistaking me for Captain Crichton (for they belonged to the rascally part of the community, with whom we have nothing to do) they began to pelt me. Unattended and unarmed as I was, and there being no policeman or sepoy to afford me help, or to apprehend my assailants, I had nothing left but to flee. The quarter of the city to which I fled was that to which I was going—that in which as yet we have no school, and where consequently we are unknown. I sought refuge in two or three houses, but in vain. The doors were closed against me, or I was driven by the inmates back into the street. I was now given up to the fury of my adversaries, who were, however, animated by no personal dislike to me or religious excitement, but by political resentment. My hat, as you know it often

does, fell off at an early stage of my flight, and there was I in the midst of hundreds with a bare head and a defenceless body, the mark of sticks and stones. Blows were showered upon me from all sides, while I kept up my struggle to pass through them, and I did advance till my assailants had diminished to about fifty; but at last, exhausted through loss of blood, I fell down near the door of the major of the Raja's old army.

"Here I was surrounded by my bloodthirsty pursuers, who were proceeding to take away my life; but God, who saves in the greatest extremities, threw in my way two old pupils, who with difficulty recognising me in my wounded state, exerted themselves for my preservation. By their arguments and the force they mustered from the neighbourhood they put an end to the murderous work, and conveyed me in safety into the major's house, whence I was brought home in a palankeen, with ten deep gashes on my head, hardly able to lift either arm, beaten all over the body, and with my clothes dyed in gore. My head was shaved; wounds dressed; it was found no bones were broken; and now, by the blessing of God, though only twelve days have elapsed, I am nearly altogether better. Under our Heavenly Father much is to be ascribed to temperate habits. In the case of ordinary men, who take a glass of beer or wine in a day, the recovery would not have been so rapid, for fever and inflammation would have been sure to supervene. But as I never drink anything stronger than water my skin never became hot; the application of water outwardly to the wounds prevented even suppuration, and the healing process has been little short of miraculous. Four doctors have seen me during my illness, and all agreed in saying, 'Now you will experience the benefits of your total abstinence.' To God be the praise, I have indeed much to thank Him for. Once I was nearly drowned in the Blackadder when at Mercer's school; again I was wrecked and nearly lost off the coast of Fife; a third time I was in danger of death from the bite of a mad dog here; and now this month, had it not been for the Lord who was on my side, I should have been swallowed up quick, when men like wild beasts rose up against me. I am thankful to say that death seemed to have lost its sting on the three last occasions.

"Captain Elliot, who is acting as Chief Commissioner here, behaved very ill on the Wednesday on which I was attacked. He gave us no warning that the jewels were to be taken away that day, and he took no precautions to preserve the peace of the city. Ignorant of the feeling of the people, he seems to have thought that he had just to ask the jewels and they would forthwith be given up. Hence not a com-

pany of soldiers was sent into Nagpoor that morning; but when the excitement did arise he passed from the extreme of presumption to the extreme of pusillanimity; for in a short time he had about two thousand men, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, on the march to set things to right. In my official letter to him, narrating the particulars of the attack on me, I have given him a bit of my mind on the arrangements made. I am sorry to say that our new local British rulers are in general men animated by no high principle whatever."

On Mr. Hislop's recovery, after a relapse due to his preaching in Kamthi too soon, he made depositions before the magistrate as to the events of the 11th October. But no effort was made by the new Commissioner to discover the ringleaders in the riot and nearly fatal assault, although it was evident that Mr. Hislop had suffered in the place of the officials. The native head clerk of the new district of Nagpoor was reported to Captain Elliot by his immediate superior, who had detected him in taking a bribe, but the only result was the suspension of the criminal for a few days, and the showing of dislike to the officer who had reported him. We shall see how the continuance and extension of this forced Lord Canning to reform the first British administration. Soon a proclamation appeared in the city abolishing the Marathi vernacular of the majority of the people as the language of the public courts and documents. After a delay of six months, during which nothing had been heard of the proceedings in the assault case, Mr. Hislop wrote to the magistrate hinting at an appeal, but that official had gone out tiger-hunting, though it was a court day. Mr. Plowden arrived as Commissioner in the month of June 1855, and not till 7th September thereafter was the report on the assault sent to Mr. Hislop, who at once replied to the "partisan arguments" of that document. The case terminated on 29th October, more than a year after the deadly assault had occurred. Under the advice of friends, and with reference to the fact that not one of his assailants, though evidence

was given against them, had been apprehended, Mr. Hislop thought it right to accept of damages to which he was declared entitled. When called upon to name the amount, he mentioned Rs. 1500 (less than £150), which was just Rs. 500 more than Mr. Mansel, when Resident, thought him entitled to for the assault made in 1855 on the mission house. Bhawauba, the young man by whose providential interference he had been rescued, should have been rewarded, but his claims were overlooked. Mr. Hislop therefore divided the money thus: Rs. 600 to the mission funds, as salary during the time he was disabled for duty; Rs. 500 to his rescuer; and Rs. 400 to the physician. His own comment on the whole case we find in this letter to his brother Robert, along with references to the death of the Rev. Robert Nesbit, the most lovable and scholarly senior missionary of the Free Church of Scotland in Bombay, following that of John Anderson of Madras :—

"NAGPOOR, *7th August* 1855.—The last mail must have conveyed to you the mournful intelligence of Robert Nesbit's death. His removal is an irreparable loss to our West of India Mission, and a heavy blow to the cause of evangelisation throughout Maharashtra. He was the best Marathi scholar, and the best preacher in that language in all the Bombay Presidency; and most diligently and successfully did he use his attainments for the glory of God in the conversion of souls. His qualifications as a teacher you have often heard. Naturally amiable and interesting, he won the affections of all his students, and inspired them with a love of the studies which he taught. But it is chiefly in his character of a modest, humble, spiritual Christian that Robert Nesbit attracted the admiration of all God's people in Western India. The Mission at Bombay is now greatly reduced. Dr. Wilson is at present the only European agent in that large city, where the hostility to Christianity is much more active than at Madras. I hope the Church at home will speedily send brethren to his relief.

"Amid my increased labours I gratefully acknowledge the divine support. Physically I am able to undertake the work, and spiritually I feel comforted in it. We had an interesting visit from Mr. Charles Elliot, a Deputy Commissioner, who expressed himself

very warmly in favour of our operations. He is from Roxburghshire, I think from Wolflee. Poor Captain Elliot, who has behaved so ill, is very sick, and I fear very miserable in mind. He is going to leave for Europe, if his strength will permit, but his departure will occasion no regret whatever either among Europeans or natives. Major Spence, who has sympathised with him in his hostility to the Mission, and who, as Deputy Commissioner of this district, has earned the distrust of most people, has been quickened into motion in the case of my assault by a query from Mr. Plowden. Yesterday, in consequence, he completed what would be called the precognition into the circumstances of the assault, with the view of ascertaining who should be apprehended for their share in it. Had it not been for Mr. Plowden, it would appear, he did not intend to find out who were guilty. And even now he has collected no evidence of his own, but simply gone over what my colleague gave him nine months ago. You may be thankful that you live in a country where such despotism and injustice cannot be practised. It will be difficult now to convict, as much evidence has been lost. For instance, I cannot easily identify a man that I saw three-quarters of a year ago, and how many witnesses may have died within the same period.

"Your last letter noticed the receipt of the beetles. I am glad you are pleased. I did not expect an entomologist to be satisfied. But I hope to contribute more, but they will not differ much from those already sent—as that is the character of our Coleoptera fauna. We have not much wood around us, except in Nagpoor city, which is a good deal hidden by trees. On all sides but one the country is very bare of timber—trap nodules being in the ascendant. A friend of mine, Dr. Rawes, will get you some water-beetles; and I must employ a servant to beat what bushes we have. Mr. Hunter, amongst other contributions, sent a Curculio, which he wishes to be returned to him. I think it is the largest specimen of that order. Many thanks for the Catalogue of Scottish Coleoptera. . . ."

Among the distinguished officers who early came under the influence of Stephen Hislop, and helped his mission, was Colin Mackenzie. That Afghan hero and captive, while still a captain, was, in 1850, selected by Lord Dalhousie for the command of the Elichpoor Division as Brigadier of the 1st class. With his accomplished young wife, who still survives, he joined his command in the hot season of 1850, and soon

opened up Chikalda plateau, which has recently become the Satpoora hill station of Central India, some twenty miles to the north-west. There he more than once received the Hislops and Mr. Hunter, after they had first made his acquaintance at Elichpoor during a cold-weather tour to the west. In Stephen Hislop and Colin Mackenzie there was the same fearless devotion to duty, the same unshrinking loyalty to Christ, the same evangelical experience of revelation and belief in its Pauline teaching, which in coarser natures might have approached fanaticism, but in them was broadened by the instincts and manners of the cultured gentleman. How they drew to each other, and how they helped each other's faith and service their loving correspondence shows.

Mackenzie, in the wilder days of his youth, had twice been stationed at Nagpoor. He had hunted the tigers of the Satpoora range; he had even then bewailed the misrule of the Maratha prince, to whom Lord William Bentinck had practically abandoned four millions of human beings. His conversion to Christ and his marvellous exploits in the first Afghan war[1] had directed his splendid courage and ability to the highest of all ends while sanctifying the lower, when from Elichpoor he beheld the still more horrible oppression of the Nizam of Haidarabad, which he was powerless to quell, —for which indeed, as Brigadier, he seemed to be in an indirect sense responsible. His representation of the state of Berar, made confidentially to the friendly Governor-General, only called forth this reply, on 12th September 1852,—"As for taking the country, I hope it will not be taken in my time, at least; treaties can't be torn up like old newspapers, you know." But as the months went on the Nizam became more hopelessly corrupt in his person and mal-administration. He was so insolvent that the heavy arrears of pay to

[1] *Storms and Sunshine of a Soldier's Life: Lieut.-General Colin Mackenzie, C.B.*, 1825-1881. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1884.

the military contingent, by which he had been relieved from the unlimited obligation of service in time of war, could not be discharged, and he assigned to the British Government the six districts of East and West Berar to meet the £320,000 annually due, as well as past debts. Having foreseen this, Mackenzie had so wisely laid his plans that he took over the fertile cotton valley, the cultivators of which had long cried for British rule, "without losing a rupee of revenue or spilling a drop of blood," as the Governor-General described it. We thus entered, in 1853, on the "permanent possession and administration" of the valley of Berar, subject only to the payment of the surplus revenue to the Haidarabad prince. The bargain has been most profitable for him, as well as advantageous to the people for whom both he and we in India exist. When the death of the Raja of Nagpoor soon after occurred, direct British rule with all its blessings, material and moral, was thus carried right across the hitherto unknown and barbarous regions of Central India, from Bombay to Bengal and North Madras.

The Nagpoor Mission was too weak to spread out from its centre, at that time, over Berar, but by tours and personal influence Hislop continued to sow the seed,—which he first began to scatter there in 1845,—and Dr. Hunter established a system of colportage till the Brahman preacher, Narayan Sheshadri, D.D., established the native mission of his Church in Amraoti, the capital, under Rev. Sidoba Misal. The first fruit was found early in 1853, in the conversion and baptism of Bal Dewa Singh, an orphaned Rajpoot, whom Colin Mackenzie had brought from Agra and placed in the mission school at Nagpoor. With him was baptized Virapa, son of a Lingayet priest of Shiva. His elder brother had to flee from Kamthi because of the intolerance of the Native State, was baptized by the London missionaries at Chikakol, near the east coast at Ganjam, and, as Samuel, became a successful

missionary to the day of his death a few years ago. Samuel's gentle and persistent influence first led his father to forsake the obscene temple, filthy image and life of mendicant dishonesty, and put on Christ publicly by baptism; and then guided the younger brother Virapa to the same joy. A third convert was baptized at the same time, Lakshmera, who, under the same influence of Samuel, became the Onesimus of the Kamthi church. In the same week of these baptisms, in November 1853, Hislop learned that two of the most promising of his Nagpoor boys, who had gone to the Medical College at Madras, had been baptized there.

On the removal of the Brigadier's command to Bolarum, the last service in which the Colin Mackenzies took part at Elichpoor was to sit down at the Lord's Table with the convert, Bal Dewa, whom they had helped to lead out from Hinduism. Mr. Hunter arrived there with two converts, Captain F—— and Bal Dewa, and the little band remembered His death till He come, as the saints of the Christian dispersion, scattered over the wilds of India and the colonies of our vast empire, so often do to the quickening of their faith and hope and joy. The adopted daughter of the Mackenzies was for some time a dweller under the roof of the Hislops, and there she too found Christ. Few missionaries have been so remarkably used by the Spirit of God for the spiritual good of Europeans, besides natives, as the Scottish Hislop, and the German Hebich in Madras. In a letter to Hislop from Bolarum, dated 23d July 1855, the closing paragraph of which was not dictated as usual but written with his own mutilated hand, Colin Mackenzie thus delicately insinuates the way for one of his many generous deeds. "It is possible that either dear Mrs. Hislop or some of your dear bairns may be obliged to go home, or you may lack some little matters to make you more comfortable. I know not how that may be, but pray do not grieve a brother and

sister in Christ by refusing the small tribute of love which I enclose. Helen and I feel assured you will not mortify us in our natural wish to be of a little use to those whom we look on as much more than blood relations. May God protect, prosper, and bless you in all things."

In the same fruitful year, 1853, three other Hindus appeared together in the Sitabaldi church and renounced the idols for Christ. Pahud Sing, a Rajpoot, was, for a time, one of that useful class of non-Christian teachers of the vernacular in mission schools who are generally secret Christians. Timid by temperament, he received courage to acknowledge Christ before men only when he was forty years of age. He thus broke forth in prayer before the waters of baptism fell on his up-turned countenance, glowing with a holy consecration :—

"O infinitely merciful and Almighty God! Thou art the Lord of the whole world, and upholdest all things seen and unseen. In Thine exceeding great mercy Thou art calling me into Thy holy church. Deeply sensible of the obligation, I return Thee thanks. O Father! give me help, that whatever persecutions may assail me, I may not, even in the least degree, fall away from Thee. Put Thy Spirit into the heart of my wife, that she may not waver in mind. O God! Thy power is boundless; Thou canst give knowledge to those who are utterly devoid of understanding; therefore, O supremely gracious Father! receive her into Thy holy church. O infinitely compassionate God! Thou art my Father; besides Thee I have none else in this world. I come to Thee as a suppliant: do Thou keep me from all kinds of shame; and to Thee, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three in one God, be glory and honour. Amen."

For the thirty-five years since, this Mr. Fearing of the Nagpoor church has been quietly valiant for the truth as an evangelist, and even to old age he testified to it by his ripe saintliness. Ramswami, who accompanied Mr. Hislop to Madras, had vacillated much under his mother's curses. But even when an inquirer he had been the means of

strengthening the faith of Baba Pandurang who, now nineteen years of age, confessing his want of firmness under the persecution by the Raja, said :—

"When I was in this state God opened my heart to look into the Scriptures, and when I looked, I found such verses as this: 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money: come ye, buy, and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price.' When I thought upon such passages, I found that when God is willing to call me to His kingdom, why should then I delay any more? and also Christ who loved the world, has told us all, saying, 'Come unto Me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest. Take My yoke upon you, and learn of Me; for I am meek and lowly in heart: and ye shall find rest unto your souls. For My yoke is easy, and My burden is light.' I was led to see that it was better for me to avoid sins and become a follower of Christ, than to perish; for it is written, 'The wages of sin is death.' For this cause and others, God gave me a mind to repent of my sins, and follow Christ entirely without any hesitation.

"Such was my state, when God, who is ever good, brought me into close acquaintance with Ramswami, whom I found much concerned about his soul, and when we began to speak much together, we resolved to follow Christ with sincerity. We now prayed together to God, asking His help that we may acknowledge Christ as the Saviour. So the Almighty enlightened our minds in the love of Christ, and believing that our hearts are toward Him, and that He has taken away our sins, we came forward to ask for baptism and to confess Christ openly before all people, that they may think that Christ is the Saviour of the world, and that they who believe in Christ with their whole heart will not perish, but have eternal life. May God bless us, and carry His work through us into effect, and may He bring forth good fruits by us. Amen."

Like all Hindu children, Baba Pandurang had been betrothed in infancy—or, as Hindu law and the British courts consider it, married—to a girl whom he had not seen, and whose family had long renounced him. That accomplished and impartial jurist, Sir Henry Maine, whose death is a loss to English scholarship, had not then provided a legal remedy. Believing himself to be unmarried, as he

practically and morally was, Baba found his first actual wife in Mrs. Mitchell's school at Poona, only to lose her by death on their way to Nagpoor; she was buried at Jalna, beside the grave of Mrs. Hill, the founder of the Mission. In time the betrothed Maratha girl, when she became old enough to understand her position, threw in her lot with her now Chris-

REV. BABA PANDURANG AND HIS WIFE.

tian husband, and he was licensed by the Presbytery of Bombay as a preacher of the Gospel. In 1856 two women were added to the church at Kamthi, Talloma, wife of a convert, who desired to be called Ruth on sharing the faith of her husband, mother-in-law, and brother-in-law, and Baka Bai, the aged mother of Shrawan.

By this time Mr. Hislop was alone. Mr. Hunter, had been ordered home in ill health. The Mission, in its three centres,

had so extended that four missionaries such as now conduct it were required; but for some years the work was left to the founder, as at the beginning. His wonderful strength, enthusiasm, and versatility, proved equal to the strain for a time. But though thus deprived of men, the mission could no longer remain without buildings large enough to accommodate the youths who crowded to its teaching, especially in the city of Nagpoor. Mr. Hunter, who arrived in Scotland in July 1855, charged himself with the duty of raising money for an Institution, to become in time worthy of the Church and the God-given policy which had raised the Christian Colleges of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay. Colonel Durand, when acting Resident, had publicly described the two best of the Nagpoor schools—native houses—as "from the heat and want of ventilation, places that cannot but be most unhealthy at any season of the year, and in the hot weather and rains, killing work for Messrs. Hislop and Hunter." Five years had passed, the room had become still more crowded, and Mr. Hunter had been invalided, when another expert visited Nagpoor and described the schools as "low, confined, unhealthy, neither fit to shelter from the drenching rain nor scorching sun."

That was the Rev. Dr. Duff. He was on his way back to Calcutta by Bombay and Nagpoor, after reorganising the missionary system of his Church in Scotland, by establishing congregational missionary associations to stir up each communicant and intelligent child to pray and give for the missions. He saw the new provinces of Berar and Nagpoor, and he met Stephen Hislop for the first time, though they had often corresponded. His keen eye took in at once the position of the province and conditions of the Mission. His eloquent pen described the whole, and sketched the founding and growth of the mission in a long report which was published by the General Assembly of 1856. How

Hislop must have rejoiced in his enthusiastic appreciation of the difficulties and needs of the Mission, which he had been representing almost in vain for ten years. Duff's appeal went straight to the practical point which Mr. Hunter had gone home to urge—build a central institution. "No time is to be lost—one of the brethren has already been compelled to retire from the field in broken health, and the whole mission now hangs on the shoulders of the other, Mr. Hislop. But though through God's blessing he is still strong, he has work in hand which, in such a climate, would require superhuman strength to hold on with impunity. I would implore the Free Church of Scotland not to allow the health, perhaps the life, of another invaluable labourer to be needlessly sacrificed." Even at that time there were 675 youths in the schools. The annexation of Nagpoor had given an impetus to the demand for English-educated natives of probity and intelligence. The Marathi students were reading the Bible from Galatians to Hebrews, with the Psalms; the first three books of Euclid and Natural Philosophy, and Hill's Lectures on Divinity for the Christians. In Nagpoor city alone the nucleus of the Maratha Church was twenty-two converts, of whom seven were women, besides fourteen children. Duff appealed for more than a building; he challenged his Church to develop Hislop's work into the same central and independent position as his own, and John Wilson's and John Anderson's. His description is still correct:—

"Northward, the nearest mission is a small one, recently established at Jabalpoor, in the great Narbada valley, distant nearly 200 miles, and across two chains of hills clothed with wild forests, the haunt of the tiger and his feline associates. Westward, the nearest is at Ahmednagar, distant 350 miles. Southward, the nearest is at Masulipatam, on the Bay of Bengal, at least as distant as the last. Eastward, the nearest is at Midnapoor, distant 600 miles. And while the people of the province must continue to look, as in times past, to their own capital, as the chief source of influence to them, multitudes

more in the surrounding districts, from similarity of language, manners, and habits, are led to do the same; and now more than ever, from its having become the seat of administrative government to the paramount power in India. Here, then, is a grand centre for evangelising operations, not only worthy of being maintained, but of being strengthened more.

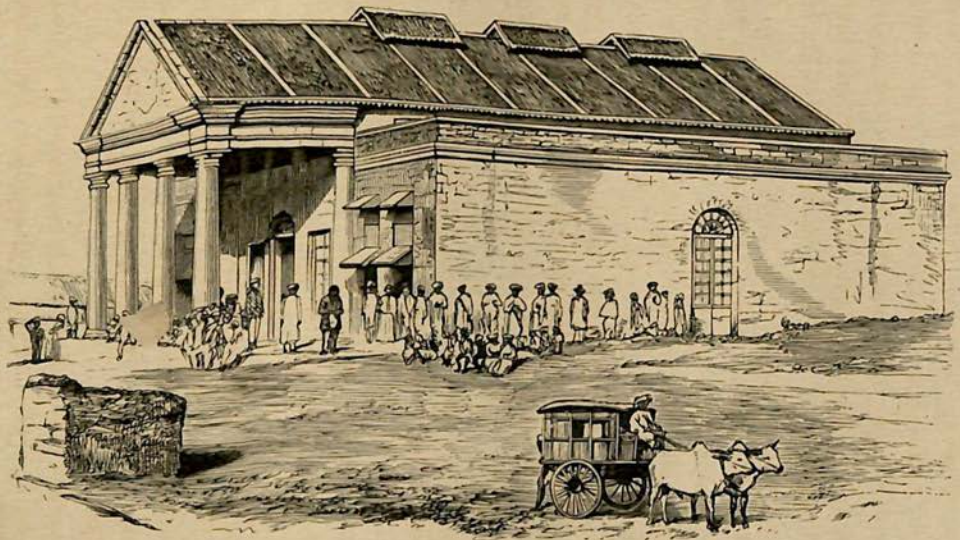
"Already has much and effective labour been bestowed upon it. Initial difficulties have been cleared away; native antipathies have been softened and native prejudices conciliated; doors of usefulness have been opened up, and a firm footing for Christianising measures obtained; the 'powers that be,' dropping all old hostilities, now profess themselves friendly to our mission; native rule, with its bigotries, uncertainties, and antagonisms, being now at an end, there is the amplest security for purse, and property, and liberty of conscience, under the inviolable ægis of British power; English and vernacular schools have been established, attended by hundreds of heathen youths, and even the hoary mountain barrier in the way of female enlightenment has been fairly broken in upon; our missionaries have obtained such favour in the eyes of the Christian British residents that they contribute about two hundred pounds annually to the support of these schools, and as these advance and bear more ripened fruits, this contribution may yet be greatly increased. Through a succession of providential arrangements, the mission has got possession of two handsome and substantial edifices for a chapel and school—the one at Kamthi, the other at Sitabaldi—and seems to be thus moored to these shores, and the gospel has been widely proclaimed throughout the city and surrounding districts. Already, through the quickening influence of God's Spirit, have been realised some striking conversions to God, so that Christianity has begun fairly to strike its roots indigenously into the soil; the nuclei of two native churches have now been formed, around which souls severed from heathenism may rally till they grow into self-sustaining strength; and lastly what ought to weigh not a little with our people at home—the Free Church mission has obtained a complete pre-occupancy of the whole city of Nagpoor and its dependent kingdom or provinces; it is *the only* mission from any evangelical Church that has ever been planted there; and if only and timeously strengthened so as to do more towards overtaking the land, the whole —brought through God's blessing on its agency to bask in the sunshine of the Sun of Righteousness—may one day be exclusively its own!—or rather *His*, whom the adoring hosts above do continually hail as the 'Lamb slain, and worthy to receive power, and riches,

and wisdom, and strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing. Amen.'"

At Kamthi Dr. Duff preached what Hislop described as a "deeply impressive" discourse, from the words "Herein is love." At Sitabaldi he addressed the Christian residents on the state of religion in Europe and America, concluding with a solemn appeal to all regarding the Mission and their own spiritual condition. "His visit," wrote Hislop to Mr. Hunter, "was quite a refreshment. His humility and his zeal for the cause of the Lord have endeared him to our hearts; while his public appearances have exalted our previously high estimate of the gifts and graces which have been bestowed upon him." From Jabalpoor Duff wrote to Hislop that the state of the Mission was pregnant with encouragement and promise. "You have been privileged to commence a great work at Nagpoor, which it were suicidal for our Church to arrest or resile from."

Dr. Tweedie, convener and secretary of the Church's Mission in Edinburgh, issued Mr. Hunter's appeal for £1200 to build the Nagpoor Institution, quoting Dr. Duff's suggestion that some one member might give the whole, and thus rear "a lasting monument in the heart of Nagpoor, in Central India." Such a member was found in Miss Mary Barclay, 7 Carlton Terrace, Edinburgh, who gave that sum or half the cost of what now bears the name of the Hislop Missionary College, showing on its pediment an inscription, of which the closing words are, "CHRIST, the Way, the Truth, and the Life."

Like John Wilson of Bombay, Stephen Hislop, from the first, spent a month of every cold season, in December and January, in missionary tours to preach and teach Christ, to circulate the Scriptures among the peasantry, artisans, and petty shopkeepers of the villages, bazaars, and fairs. We have already recorded his first long tour to Chanda. In the



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following account he generalises his experiences in January 1854, chiefly in the Wardha district:—

"My route lay to the south in the direction of no European station, where, in fact, Europeans had seldom or ever been seen, and the voice of the missionary had never before been heard. Accompanied by my dear family and Baba Pandurang, I passed on by easy stages, sometimes through jungle, and at other times through a cultivated country. One afternoon our encampment was invaded by two leopards, that came within a few yards of our children, but the Lord suffered them not to do us any harm. It is a melancholy reflection, that though our mission has been established now nearly nine years, and though for the last seven, with two necessary exceptions, something has been attempted every vacation directly for the good of the rural districts, yet there are to this day many routes radiating from Nagpoor all as new to the footsteps of the Christian evangelist, as that I lately took.

"In the larger villages, however, even of these routes, from the communication which is kept up with the capital, the influence of our city schools is not unfelt. In such places I did not need to announce the object of my visit. The cases of Baba Pandurang and Ganu Lingapa were widely known, and with these was diffused some acquaintance with the Saviour and with the tendency of Christianity. At Girar, a village about forty miles from Nagpoor, where the Mussulmans have a famous shrine, I asked a man connected with the establishment, who had given us some information regarding it, some particulars about himself. He replied, 'I am of Lingapa caste.' This man had not been in Nagpoor for several years. At Segaum, about thirty miles farther distant, while I was endeavouring to impress on my hearers the duty of giving up all for Christ, one of the audience, as an illustration, brought forward the conduct of a young

Brahman, who, he said, had been tempted by the Raja with the offer of a lucrative appointment if he would not forsake idolatry, but who boldly professed his belief in Christianity, although imprisonment was the consequence. He and the rest of the assembly were agreeably surprised when the example adduced was stated to be sitting among them in the person of Baba; and they listened with special attention to the gospel from his lips.

"By the way we saw, what we had frequently had occasion to observe before, the readiness with which the interested advocates of superstition availed themselves of the conduct of Europeans to support their false pretensions. At a village, the inhabitants of which seemed to be in abject distress, I was addressing a crowd, when a fakeer came up with all the insignia of his mendicancy. I remonstrated with my hearers, that although they were so poor as not to be able to buy the smallest tract, yet they were willing to encourage such lazy vagrants as the one then before them. Their answer was, 'What can we do? We know we have no protection against such characters. If we refuse they will curse us; they will lay their blood on our heads, or cause us to blush by their indecencies.' To this charge the fakeer had no reply, save that his ancestors for several generations had followed the same profession, and that Europeans in Kamthi bestowed on him alms. To the same purport was a statement volunteered by an Agarwala or adherent of the Sikh religion, who is settled in Girar, viz., that the British support the temple of Jagannath, in consequence of the god having appeared to them, and by a wonderful display of his power compelled them to do him honour. It is thus that our religion and government are dragged in triumph after the wheels of the idol car!

"The most absurd miracles find easy credence with a people who have long been given up to delusions to believe a

lie. Girar, above referred to, is supposed to have been the scene of one of these. Several hundred years ago there is said to have lived on the top of the hill near which the town is built, a Mussulman named Sheik Fareed, renowned for his holy austerities. With the freedom which belongs to his privileged class, he is reported to have addressed a merchant who was passing by with bullocks laden with nutmegs, betel-nuts, etc., and to have demanded some of his wares. The merchant refused, alleging that his bullocks were laden only with stones. 'Stones let them be,' said the enraged mendicant; and stones very soon did the poor distressed bullocks find them become. The merchant no less distressed on seeing the loss he had sustained, returned to Fareed and humbly entreated him to withdraw his curse, and restore his property to its former value. The saint ordered him to throw out the petrified fruits, to fill his sacks with leaves, and begone. These he had not gone far till he found all converted into gold and silver coins. Unhappily for the truth of this story, it can be proved that Sheik Fareed lived and died in the Panjab, and that the existing memorials of the miracle, which are scattered up and down the plain of Girar, are not real organic remains, but mere nodules that have escaped out of a clayey deposit in the neighbourhood. Yet on the strength of this imposture there has been erected an extensive establishment of fakeers, to whom all classes, high and low, Hindus and Mussulmans, from every part of the state, repair. Baba Pandurang's father made a vow to Fareed on behalf of his son while he was an infant, and a lock of hair was allowed to grow on Baba's head till both parent and child could go to Girar and pay the vow. On the occasion a sum of money was presented at the shrine of the deceased saint, another sum to the fakeer who acted as master of ceremonies, and a third to the drum. There was also brought a meat-offering to the saint, consisting of bread mixed with

sugar and butter, which was afterwards distributed among the fishes and tortoises with which the tank of the establishment swarms; but a fourth sum required to be given for permission to make the distribution. According to the avidity with which these tenants of the pool came to be fed is the invisible guardian of the place supposed to be pleased with the worshippers. This part of the proceedings being accomplished to their wish, the deluded votaries were directed to walk several times round the tank, and on their departure to carry with them some of the duck-weed which mantles the water, which they were taught to believe was a marvellous kind of poppy-seed, and a remedy for numerous evils. With what different feelings did Baba pay his second visit to Girar! The contrast was well fitted to draw forth his commiseration for the hundreds of his countrymen who daily flock to that scene of deception. In such a state of society the miracles of the New Testament may be accepted, but they fail to impress minds which look upon them as common, and embrace every legend without examination."

At the end of 1854, on the 20th December, Mr. Hislop and his family and colleague set out, with tents, on what was perhaps the most important and fruitful of the tours of which he has preserved a detailed record, to the hill country and Gond centre of Chindwara district, to the north of Nagpoor. The road, or track as it was then, ascends from the Zeraghat[1] or lowlands of the Nagpoor plain to the Balaghat or highlands of the Satpoora range. From these the Kanhan river of Kamthi comes down in ravines and valleys, where it forms strips of verdure and waters mango groves, in which the villages nestle. In the bed of its Pench affluent, which rises on the plateau of the Mothoor sanitarium to the north, Hislop had discovered seams of coal two years before.

[1] For detailed description and maps see *The Student's Geography of India, Political and Physical* (John Murray).

"25*th*.—Started at 5¾ A.M. for Ramakona, where we arrived at 10 A.M., the intermediate villages being Hawra on the north bank of the Jum 2 miles. Khair, 3 miles, a hamlet of 5 houses, where there were great complaints of past oppression in regard to forced labour, and where I met a Brahman, the *patel* of Paratpur, who would have bought a tract had he been able to get a pice on loan in all the place. Kajalwani, 3 miles; the Kanhan and Ramakona, 2 miles, in all 10 miles. Here met a chaprassi of the Nagpoor Post Office in charge of upwards of 20 runners from Ramtek, etc., whom he was going to station on the roads. Ramakona is under a Brahman *patel*, who is rejoiced at the recent change of Government which prevents all forced labour. Tried to preach to the post-runners, but found it very difficult. Afterwards went to see a Shankar Acharya, who was making a tour for the collection of money, accompanied by a large retinue. He was on his way to Chindwara, whence he intended to proceed to Chatteesgarh, and then return home. The discussion commenced by my asking the guru with what object he was travelling. He replied, to confirm the people in their practices. What practices? I asked. He answered bathing, repeating the gayatri, etc. What is the use of bathing? To take away sins. But this he afterwards retracted, and admitted that by the application of water to the body only bodily pollution could be removed. There is another kind of snán, however, he added, among us Brahmans, viz., that which is performed in the evening called Basma-snán, consisting of the application of ashes to the body, which is a certain means of purifying the soul. This statement also he withdrew, and took his stand on the efficiency of knowledge, which is to the soul what bathing is to the body. Worship is of nine kinds (nawvidha bhakti as it is in the *Gita*), *e.g.*, 1st, That Brahmans should bathe and repeat the gayatri; 2d, Shutting their eyes, should meditate before an idol and thus bring the god's form into the mind; 3d, And if any one come at midday he should be reckoned god and worshipped; 4th, That beasts and birds should be fed, etc. The third kind was chosen for comment by asking if a thief were to come is he to be treated as a god? Yes, because in every heart god resides. If a thief has stolen, then is god the author of the theft? No, he is far from evil-doers. You have well said, for He dwells in His people as a friend, but He hates the heart defiled by sin. I then asked if any one kept the commandments of God? A few. I then put it to him if he did it, or ever met with a man who did it? He confessed for himself that he was unable, and had never found one that was able. Then all we who are seated in this room are sinners, and how can we

be forgiven and saved? By keeping God's commandments. But this is the very thing that we have not been able to do in times past, and how can we be able in the time to come? When he felt the difficulty he tried to get out of it by saying that there was no difference between sin and righteousness. But you yourself had admitted that God is angry with sinners, and if your hypothesis is correct He is angry without a cause. When he could propose no way of deliverance from sin, I unfolded the Gospel plan of redemption, to which he listened and apparently assented.

"26*th.*—Started from Nawtal at 6½ A.M., and reached Talaw on the tableland, a distance of 4½ miles, at 9 A.M. The Shankar Acharya whom I met yesterday passed. In his suite there was a led cow which as soon as it saw our encampment came and lay down beside us, and scarcely could it be got away with all the efforts that could be used. They lifted it up and tried to let it down on its feet, but it endeavoured to keep its legs sloping so that they might not touch the ground. At first the guru told his servants to beat it and get it on, but on being reminded that in his view it was a goddess, he told them to desist. He informed me that in the Mhat to which he belonged there were about 500 Brahmans. At Talaw there are two temples built to Shiwa Lumtrip by Dharmaji Bhosla. At Tara I heard a loud noise in the village, arising from our cook having dishonestly helped himself to sugar-cane. I reached the scene of the disturbance just in time to see Virapa deal a heavy blow with the butt end of a musket on the breast of a poor young villager. The lad was comforted by receiving a rupee. How sad if our visit to this place for the promulgation of the gospel of peace and salvation had been accompanied by the loss of life!

"27*th.*—Bade farewell to Tara. Passed Tansara, as I found that none of the people understood Marathi, except the Kotwal, a Mahar. In this respect the village resembled Tara, only there almost the whole people were Gonds, while here the *patel* and 3 other families were Rajpoots. Three miles farther on arrived at Mohokheda, a large town of 1200 houses. The tahsildar, as he was called, was a Marathi Brahman, and there were a good many others of the inhabitants who used the same language. I had a large and attentive congregation in the court. In the audience was one of the followers of the travelling guru. His success in Mohokheda, however, was small up to the time that we left the village, as no one had yet sent him anything to eat, although it was well known that he had arrived. In this respect the neglected religious teacher drew a painful contrast between himself

and Lakshman, who had raised about a rupee by the sale of 30 tracts. Lakshman truthfully replied that he gave the money's worth for the money, while the guru's object was simply to enrich himself and his order. My hearer helped the cause of Christ by admitting that his superior was not able to defend his position at Ramakona. Passed Sarat, 1½ miles; Sohagpur, 1½ miles; Rajara, a village of the Gond Raja with a monolith, 1 mile; Badnur, 1½ miles; and 2 miles farther on came to Pownar at 1 P.M., and encamped for the night. It was evident at Mohokheda that Marathi was an imported language, as all the Koonbis and Telis, of the latter of whom there is a great number all over this part of the country, spoke Hindustani. Sohagpoor was the only place at which it was admitted that Marathi was the predominant language, being spoken by Koonbis and Malis. At Rajara the people understood Marathi, and one of them could speak it, but he confessed that himself and the majority of his co-villagers used Hindustani among themselves. So also at Badnur. At Pownar a crowd who assembled stated that Marathi was seldom or ever heard among them. The people here were very kind, and would take nothing for the sugar-cane which they gave us. Here I saw a wheel in operation for pressing out the sweet juice, the vat into which it is received, and the furnace over which it is boiled into *goor*.

"28*th*.—Left Pownar at 6½ A.M. Drew the Gawali short pillar on the S. side of the village, and examined the two on the N. side. At Patpara, 5 miles N. of Pownar, drew the pillars on the S. side of the village, which are in better preservation than any hitherto met with, though all are of trap. On approaching Umret, which is 6 miles from Patpara, we found the Kamavishdar had sent out men to improve the roads. Reached our encamping ground about 11 A.M. Mr. Hunter preached in the evening in the Kacheri. People attentive. Stated no objections till Baba spoke. Nearly 90 books sold, chiefly Balbodh First Books, perhaps in consequence of the preference given to that character by Captain Chesney, the Deputy-Commissioner. No school in the village, but the parents among the Marathi Brahmans teach their children at home. The Kamavishdar is a Parbhu, the other officials Marathi Brahmans. The Kotwal, a Mahar, speaks Marathi better than any other language. But at Barra Barkoi, to which we went on 29th, we found the inhabitants to consist of Gonds and Dheds, the latter not being able to speak Marathi.

"29*th*.—Started for the coal-field between C. and B. Barkoi at 6 A.M., passing on the way Nangalwadi, 2 miles; Tawari, ½ mile; Chota Barkoi, 2¼ miles, and the stream that passes through the coal

strata, on the N. bank of which stands Barra Barkoi, ½ mile. Returned to the tent at Umret at 5¾ P.M. Captain Chesney had kindly forwarded letters and supplies early in the morning.

"30*th*, *Saturday*.—Acknowledged Captain Chesney's attention. Left my dear family at Umret and went on to Jamei. . . .

"31*st*.—Sabbath spent at Jamei. About noon preached in a wretched hovel of a court-house, and made some inquiries about the religion of the Gonds. At our encamping ground, on the N. of the village, there was a samadh, with a small niche on the top of it for a lamp, and various sculptures on each of the four sides, the figure of an elephant being particularly good. It seems to be of the same age as the Gawali columns, one of which stands in an adjoining field to the E. On the S. of the village, under a mhowa and tamarind tree, are two flat upright stones, one with a Gawali man holding a chain, and another bearing a figure of Hanuman.

"1855. *Monday, New Year's Day*.—Hoar frost seen in a field 1 mile N. of Jamei; ½ mile farther passed under a tree a figure of the Nag, or, as it is called here, Nang Dewa. The commencement of the ghat may be about 1¾ miles N.W. of Jamei Junur, a plain of idols, without inhabitants, about $\frac{1}{10}$ mile up the ghat, with tall mango trees (wild ?) around. Here is another column. Saw a Nilghai (deer) on the top of the ghat. . . . Inquired about the Gondi, and found the words they afforded me to tally almost invariably with the table of vocables furnished by Voysey. Observed that Koitors have good foreheads and distended nostrils. In this last feature Alop Singh agreed with them. On the north of Gt. Bilawar, ⅓ mile after crossing the Karpada stream, on the west of the road are two rows of pillars under the shadow of a large pipal tree—one row with 8 pillars on the west, and the eastern row with 6 standing and one fallen. Besides these, two larger pillars are embraced and partly enclosed by the tree, and another with an archer is broken. Near these ancient remains is a modern idol surrounded by very excellent specimens of rock crystal. From Bilawar to Mothoor is a distance of 4 miles, through very long grass, in many places 7 feet. Conversed about the Gonds with Dewasa, a Koitor, whose family has resided in the same village for many generations. There is everywhere an unwillingness in a husband to mention the name of his own wife, though not of any other person's.

"2*d January*.—Left Mothoor at sunrise, and after walking about 2 miles, reached Mothoor Dewa, at a shed erected on the brink of the north descent of the Mothoor hills, whence there is obtained a most imposing view of the Mahadewa Hills on the north, with the intervening valley

of jungle lying at our feet. Here there is a small Boodh of white marble, with head and arms broken, and inscription like the little one I have seen from Muktagiri, but illegible. Around this respectable work of art were rude figures of horsemen with swords in bas-relief, which afterwards were said to be the work of the Moasis. Before these the pilgrims to Mahadewa, who go by Gorak, as they return give jharti, emptying their jholana of its contents. Immediately on leaving this we commenced the descent, which in many places is exceedingly steep, and may be about three miles long. When ⅔ down we came to an uninhabited house, surrounded by a little cultivation, belonging to the village of Jhot in the plain, which is 7 miles from Mothoor, situated on the N.W. bank of the Sher stream. Here I made inquiries at the Moasis, who extend from this north over the plain and beyond Pachmari, about their language and religion, and Baba preached. After dinner, proceeded in the afternoon to Bhawan, 8 miles and thence 2 to Nandakheda, at the foot of Jattapahad, where we arrived about 7 P.M., the full moon shining from above the bold hills.

"3*d January*.—Left Nandakheda at 8½ A.M. to ascend to Mahadewa Cave, and returned at 2 P.M. Vira had retired with the tent to the junction of the Palaspari with the Denwa, and thither I went, passing five square pillars whose figures I had not time to examine. Mr. Hunter, who had been botanising at the foot of Jattapahad, followed after an hour. I found Vira had got a few fossils, but the thunder and rain, which soon after commenced, prevented us from carrying on the search on that occasion. The fresh mark of a strong tiger's claw was observed on the sand of the Palaspari stream a few yards from our tent, and we could see from the door a black bear come down to drink the water of the Denwa. Vira went after it with a gun, but could not fall in with it.

"4*th*.—Comparatively unsuccessful in our search for organic remains. Not far from the south bank of the Katta we arrived at 7 P.M. in the midst of a very heavy dew, which is said to fall in that part of the country from Kartik to Phalgoon (month).

"5*th*.—Some of our village porters had fled during the night, and a message required to be sent to a neighbouring village for help. At 7½ A.M. set out for Gorak, 4 miles, to reach which we required to climb half of a ghat, but not nearly so difficult as any part of the Mothoor one. Gorak is under a Gond Thakoor named Jugkaj, who is also over three or four neighbouring villages. He regards the Gond Raja of Dewagad or Nagpoor as his chief, his forefather having received the jaghire from one of that family. In his boyhood Jugkaj had

learned to read Hindi under Lal Saheb, the Gond Thakoor of Auriya, near Mothoor, the only one of the race known to be able to read; but though now not more than twenty-eight years of age, he has forgotten it. He seemed an amiable youth; equipped with an axe for cutting down branches, and his waist hung round with ropes for his matchlock, which was carried by an attendant, he appeared rather warlike. He, his friend of Auriya, and the Thakoor of Barda, employ among them Hindu law agents to represent them at Chindwara. So Mendar Singh of Pachmarhi employs a Brahman as his Karkoon. Captain Chesney informs me that of all the Thakoors connected with Chindwara district there are only two or three who are not in debt. Their law agents impose on their simplicity. Captain Chesney also mentioned that there are some people who come into his court who swear only by the dog. Who they were he could not at the moment tell. Conversed at Gorak with a Badiya cultivator about his race. They speak Hindi, but in many of their religious practices resemble Gonds. After leaving Gorak fifteen minutes, we mounted the remainder of the ascent, which carried us gradually up between two hills to the top of the table-land. Taking the whole ascent into consideration, the route by Gorak is *greatly* to be preferred to that by Mothoor. . . .

"6*th*.—Mr. Hunter and I set out for Umret and Chindwara. Children apparently much improved by their residence on the table-land. Received news of the Battle of Inkerman, and *Friend of India* with an article on the official language of Nagpoor."

The tour in January and February, 1856, lay through the highlands and forests, and among the Gonds of the Balaghat district, towards Lanji. In January 1857, Mr. Hislop and his family chose the route west-north-west through the hilly part of the Nagpoor district, towards the uplands of Berar. Occasionally we find in his very full journal of this tour such an entry as this: "*Jan.* 15*th*.—This day was devoted to the examination of the hills in the neighbourhood, and the collection of Tertiary fossils." Again, "Came to a knoll covered with a Druidical circle, which I recollected having climbed on a previous journey. . . . Crossed the Kadak with its bed of tessellated trap. A formless idol, most probably Masoba, standing under an anjan (*Pentaptera*) tree; on the winged front of the tree I found several small black beetles, greatly

resembling the insects found at Dr. Rawes' bungalow at Suradi." But the steady work of the ever-observant missionary, as he made his daily march of from twelve to twenty miles, climbing or walking, was to talk to all he met on the way to peace, and when his tent was pitched for the evening, to preach the glad tidings of the kingdom, and next morning to confer with the officials and Brahmans on sin and salvation, using their local knowledge and his own learning as occasions to lift them to higher things. He found the people of all classes, even Mussulman fakeers, but especially the Hindus and Gonds, more kindly than ever before.

In truth he was now known far and wide as a holy and learned man, who taught the people because he loved them. When climbing a hill, every watercourse of which was dried up, he was faint for water, and applied to two peasants who, with the wife of one of them, were threshing pulse. "They readily parted with some of their precious fluid, and, moreover, offered some of the pulse. I was very much impressed with the kindness of the rural population, whose feelings of hospitality would fain have broken through the restraints even of caste. One readily gave his *lotâ* (brass jug), observing that it could easily be cleansed from defilement by simply washing it." Another, at the next halting-place, presented abundance of his sugar-cane to the travellers, while the headman gave his veranda for a preaching place, which was crowded, and offered the preacher betel-nut. The people, their foreign rulers and teachers alike, were ignorant of the gathering storm.

CHAPTER VI

THE MUTINY YEAR—NAGPOOR SAVED BY THE MISSIONARY

The Mutiny of 1857—Mussulman and Maratha—Civilians and military men in Nagpoor—The *Chapatee* cakes—Hislop's opinion—His Mussulman friend, Feiz Buksh, reveals to him the plot—He reports it to Mr. Ellis—Women and children take refuge in Sitabaldi Fort—Major Johnston's command—Future bearing of the Mutiny on Christian Missions—Hislop suffers greatly from fever—Massacre of Rev. Thomas Hunter and his family at Sialkot—Resignation and letter of Rev. Robert Hunter—Stephen Hislop's journal in the Mutiny months of 1857—Hailstorm, the Holi, execution of traitors—Movable columns—Mission work restricted by the military—Day of humiliation and prayer—Sepoy inquirers—The Lingayets—Ramtek—Hindu excitement and portents—Mr. Plowden's examination of the Mission schools—Major L. Johnston's narrative—Captain W. L. Chapman's testimony to Hislop's service—Hislop's final opinion on the Mutiny—His non-Christian native friends—Resists the doctors no longer—Welcomes Rev. J. G. Cooper—Baptizes seven converts.

THE discontent of the pensioned representatives of the Mohammedan and Maratha rivals, whom events had compelled us to supersede in the mal-administration of the country, found in the caste panic, caused by the greased cartridges, the occasion which led to the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 in Northern and Central India. From the Calcutta suburb of Dum Dum and Barrackpore to Berhampore and Meerut, right up the Ganges and Jumna valleys, the wild epidemic silently spread. The carelessness of the English character and the incapacity of two or three military officers in the highest command, allowed the mutinous and murderous Bengal native army to find a refuge and a centre of support

in the old Mussulman capital of Delhi, where the Great Mogul still exercised titular influence. The Maratha and Mohammedan plotters, represented by Nana Dhoondopunt of Cawnpore, and Azeemoolla Khan who had returned from Europe with a report of our early disasters in the Crimean War, could not have desired any course more favourable to their design had they deliberately planned it.

Nor was our Indian empire ever less prepared for the struggle. The British garrison had been reduced to just half its strength at this hour by the withdrawal of regiments for the Crimean and Persian campaigns, in spite of the remonstrances of the Marquis of Dalhousie. The three large mercenary armies of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras were demoralised by a military system which at once pampered and provoked their prejudices, while it left them in control of the most vital strategic points and fortresses in the country, and of a powerful artillery. The irregular levies of the newly-conquered Panjab alone, thanks to Dalhousie, Edwardes, and the Lawrences, were a reliable fighting force, and from the far north they helped to save the empire. In the centre and on the south, the Madras sepoys were no better disciplined than their more warlike fellows of Hindustan; but their family system—the wives and children who marched and lived with them—kept them still. Add to all this the inexperience and weakness of the central Government, which kept itself isolated in Calcutta. Lord Canning, the new Governor-General, had as his council the least satisfactory set of advisers that had ever paralysed a personally brave and responsible ruler, since Lord Auckland had been used as the tool of the first Afghan war. If Calcutta was the centre, as it is, of our imperial interests in Southern Asia, the empire was saved, and was re-conquered from the extremities by John Lawrence and Herbert Edwardes, Nicolson and Baird Smith, at Peshawur and Delhi; by Lord Elphinstone, Durand,

and Hugh Rose at Satara and Bombay, Indore and Jhansi; by Stephen Hislop and those whom he first awoke to the danger, at Nagpoor and Haidarabad.

The story of the "Mohammedan conspiracy, formed with Maratha collusion" at Nagpoor, as Sir Richard Temple authoritatively describes it,[1] has never yet been told. Only now, in the detailed journal of Stephen Hislop and diary of Major Lawrence Johnston are all the facts before us. The Parliamentary papers and official enclosures to secret letters from India, record accurately enough whatever the local authorities at Nagpoor chose to report to Calcutta at the time; and on these the elaborate work of Kaye and Colonel Malleson, and the admirable *History of the Indian Mutiny*, by T. R. E. Holmes,[2] are based. But Nagpoor was not then fortunate in its officials, while prejudice ran high between the civilians and military men there. Mr. George Plowden, a Bengal civilian, who had the reputation of being able and who was known to be constitutionally lazy, was the Commissioner, through whom alone all communications could pass. Mr. R. Ellis, a Madras civilian, was both able and active, but he was new to the people, and the Deputy-Commissioner of only one district, though that was Nagpoor. There was no public opinion outside of the officials, no means of reaching or influencing native opinion except Hislop, no newspaper press worth the name. Nagpoor was isolated on every side except on the open west by the branch railway to the Bombay main line, and soon it came to be cut off altogether from any but the slowest and most uncertain communication with the rest of India. Even had the new Province been more favourably situated or better known, what attention could it expect or did it deserve from a Government beset like Lord Canning's? Bengal itself, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, were all

[1] *Men and Events of My Time in India*, p. 112, (John Murray) 1882.
[2] Second Edition, 1885 (W. H. Allen & Co.)

of more account, and yet, such was the small number of British troops and faithful mercenaries, even these had to bide their time till John Lawrence could take Delhi.

In a letter to his Church in Scotland, dated 23d July 1857, which was not published at the time, Mr. Hislop began by reviewing the events thus briefly noted in his Journal—"*10th May.*—Mutiny occurred at Meerut; on 11th at Delhi." He stated that the mutinous spirit which, for the past three months had been rampant in the north of India, was at first exhibited by Hindu sepoys, who were possessed by a caste antipathy to the use of certain cartridges which, however, they had not been actually required to use. Since the commencement of the outbreak the movement had more and more become a Mussulman one. It seemed then likely that the Mohammedans had taken advantage of the religious prejudices of the Hindus to regain, if possible, their former position. *Chapatees*, or white wheaten cakes, had been silently distributed from hand to hand over many parts of the country. As that mysterious transaction was managed in the Province of Nagpoor, it was accompanied by the announcement that the bread was given by order of Government, leaving the recipients to indulge their wonted jealousy of any interference with their food. The *chapatees* were circulated in Nagpoor in the month of March, and about the same time, reported Hislop, the conspiracy for the overthrow of the British power in the Province was formed.

The 14th of June, a Sunday, was the day on which the Government of India expected the Barrackpore sepoys to march upon the capital. The Calcutta authorities so took up the available carriage, planted artillery at the Mohammedan Madrissa or college, and advised the Christian ministers to be brief in their services, as to cause a panic. The actual date of the centenary of Plassey was the 23d of June, on or before which a very general rumour, in the form

of a prophecy, asserted that the British *raj* was to come to an end. Hislop wrote of Nagpoor—"The 16th of June was, I believe, fixed for the insurrection here, as in several other parts of India. Nagpoor, to speak after the manner of men, contained the elements both of safety and danger—of safety, in Kamthi being occupied by Madras troops, principally native, but including a small proportion of European artillery; of danger, in Takli, a suburb of Sitabaldi, being a station for an irregular native force, formed on the model of Bengal. The Irregular Cavalry recruited in the Province were almost all Mussulmans; the Irregular Infantry drawn from Northern India were chiefly high-caste Hindus. The risk, from the *personnel* of our Sitabaldi Force, was increased by the circumstance that all our nearest cantonments were occupied by military of the same description, Rajpoot and Brahman sepoys at Jabalpoor, and Mussulman cavalry in Berar.

"But we had little idea of our real situation. Sitabaldi Fort had been allowed to fall well-nigh into ruin, and only a short time before a proposition had been made to have it altogether dismantled. Our excellent friend Captain Lawrence Johnston of the 26th Madras Native Infantry, perceiving the importance of the position, on 12th June persuaded the authorities to have it put in repair. That night I was enabled to appreciate the foresight implied in the advice. Feiz Buksh, an old Mussulman gentleman with whom I have been acquainted since the year of my arrival in India, under shelter of the darkness stole from the city with his son, a former pupil of the Mission, to urge me immediately to send my wife and family to Bombay, as in four days more the people of Nagpoor intended to join the military, and massacre all the Christians in the place.

"Here, however, we see the hand of God employed to precipitate and disconcert their designs. The Irregular Cavalry, who were the leaders in the plot, in order the more

effectually to blind the authorities, volunteered to proceed against the mutinous regiments of Bengal. On Saturday morning (13th June) as I was communicating to Mr. Ellis, our Deputy Commissioner, the information which I had received the previous evening from Feiz Buksh, Mr. Plowden, the Chief Commissioner, was on his way to thank the Irregular Cavalry for the zeal and loyalty which they had recently expressed; and to direct a squadron of them to be in readiness that evening to join a field force that was on the point of marching from Kamthi against Jabalpoor. The cavalry, with every mark of cordiality, replied that if the Madras troops were allowed to start that day, the required detachment from them would overtake them the day after. Now it was felt that no time must be lost in striking the blow. If the squadron were not prepared to march next day, the mutinous spirit which animated the whole regiment would be discovered and punished before help could be obtained from the city. Whether then should they fall upon the Christians while they were assembled early next morning for the worship of God in the episcopal church, or that very Saturday night kill them in their beds? For a time they hesitated, but thinking perhaps, all too truly, that the former alternative would apply to only a small portion of the European community, the latter was the course they resolved to pursue.

"Though on the preceding night I was the only European that was aware of their intention to rise at all, yet on the evening of the 13th I was as ignorant as others of their determination to do so within a few hours. I therefore proceeded as usual to Kamthi with the view of conducting divine service there next morning (Sabbath). Meanwhile the conspirators had agreed that on the ascent of fire-balloons the Irregular Cavalry from Takli, and armed men from Nagpoor, should meet half-way in a garden near our house

called the Moti Bagh. From that rendezvous strong bands were to be distributed to various parts of the station, some to murder the sleeping inhabitants at midnight, and others to seize the fort held by Captain Johnston and a small body of Madras sepoys, the command of which would have given them the control of the powder magazine within the walls, and of the arsenal and treasury, with their vast stores of arms and money at the foot of the hill. By 10 P.M. 400 of the fiercest Mussulmans from the city were lurking in the garden, expecting further reinforcements, and especially the arrival of the Irregular Cavalry. These at the same hour were in their saddles prepared to set out for the place of meeting, and only awaited the return of their emissary from the lines of the Irregular Infantry, on whose adhesion they calculated at the first announcement of their purpose.

"Here, however, we have again to mark the interposition of the Most High. The havildar (native sergeant) on duty was one of a very few Madras men who had been drafted into the corps among the high-caste Hindus from the north; and to him the sentry led the cavalry's agent, who was forthwith put in prison. The alarm was given to the European officers. The families were roused from their beds, and before the hour of midnight all had fled to Kamthi, or sought refuge in the neighbouring fort. The cavalry, seeing the plot was found out, dismounted and pretended to be fast asleep; but the city people still kept their position in the garden. Scarcely had my dear wife and three children made their way to the hill, when a messenger from these blood-thirsty men came to reconnoitre our house; but finding that the prey had escaped, he is supposed to have returned and with others to have advised their retreat.

"Most remarkable was the fear which the Lord put into the hearts of the enemy. Had they gone forward in the

execution of their design, even after it was discovered, there is every reason to apprehend that it would have succeeded. The handful of Christians in Sitabaldi could never have resisted their attack; and once seen in energetic action they would have been joined by their numerous sympathisers in the Irregular Infantry, and by hosts of desperate characters from the city eager for plunder. Triumphant in Sitabaldi, and in possession of treasury, magazine, and arsenal, their march to Kamthi would have been the signal for mutiny to many of their co-religionists there, with whom they had been in correspondence; and conspicuous as has been the loyalty of the Madras Native Infantry, it would have tried even their constancy to rally round their officers and the European artillery in support of the Government. I need not say that at all the stations throughout the Province the mutiny and revolt at the capital, if successful, would have found numerous imitators. That all these calamities have been graciously warded off, and that you have still a Mission at Nagpoor, is to be attributed not to the wisdom or power of man, but to the sovereign mercy of our God, who has preserved us while many of our countrymen, not more unfavourably situated than we, have been cruelly butchered.

"At the same time it is only due to our authorities to state that, since they learned the danger, their measures have been distinguished by great promptness and judgment. On Sabbath morning after dawn a strong force from Kamthi was in Sitabaldi to overawe the mutineers, the troops which had been despatched towards Jabalpoor were recalled, and as the daily investigations advanced the ringleaders in the wicked scheme were seized and punished; while the whole of the native population were disarmed. Nor were the meritorious forgotten. The men who aided in apprehending the emissary of the cavalry were promoted in the regiment, and my friend Feiz Buksh was rewarded with the office of *kotwal* (chief

magistrate) in Nagpoor, where he has been of eminent service in seeking out and arresting traitors.

"Your late war in Europe was exactly forty years after the termination of that which preceded it. The same period had elapsed between our flight to Sitabaldi Hill and the last occasion on which that summit had been used by our countrymen as a place of refuge and defence. For the first three weeks of our residence within the fort my visits to the city were suspended; but since then the work of the Mission has been prosecuted as usual. While cut off from my labours among the heathen I had the more time to bestow on the professing Christians who were my fellow refugees. I had thus access to some whom my voice seldom reaches, and I felt it to be a solemn thing to preach the gospel to hearers who, like myself, had been doomed to death, but had been saved that thenceforth they might give more earnest heed to the things which concern their everlasting peace. May the warning and the deliverance be improved by us all!

"Though it may be premature to offer an opinion on the future bearing upon Missions of the judgments that are now abroad on this land, yet it cannot be unprofitable to look back on some of their causes. These are to be sought for in connection with the native troops; and as I live on the borders of the Bengal and Madras armies, and at a station where we have representatives of both, I may be permitted to point out the difference between them, which is sufficient to account for the north of India being a scene of confusion and bloodshed, and the south the abode of order and peace.

"The great distinction between the two Presidencies is in the policy followed towards caste in their armies. The Bengal Government has in this respect actually guided its proceedings by the rules of Hinduism, while that of Madras has looked more to the principles of common justice. Military service is a source of livelihood to a considerable portion of

the natives of India. This employment in the south is thrown open to all who possess physical fitness for it, but in the north the paramount qualification for regiments of the line is ceremonial; and without exception none are admitted who cannot prove the purity of their birth according to the superstitious standard of Hinduism. Hence the ranks of the Irregular Infantry are filled chiefly by Brahmans and Rajpoots, while low-caste Hindus, and Christians, who are reckoned the lowest of the low, were excluded. So jealous is the exclusion that it extends to the military hospitals. Native dressers from Madras may belong to any caste or religious persuasion, but a native Christian is ineligible for the corresponding office in Bengal; and little more than a year ago I was told by a Hindu originally chosen for his birth-purity, but who while acting as native doctor to the Irregular Infantry here frequently expressed his belief in Christianity, that he durst not act on his convictions, as the penalty of the step would be the loss of his situation. It was not so that a Mussulman Government dealt by the religion which itself professed. The followers of the false prophet were never guilty of such temporising expedients. They asserted the principle that an adherent of Islam in India, regardless of birth-purity or impurity, was entitled to at least equal privileges with the people whom they had conquered, and if any of the latter embraced their faith they did not on that account esteem them as worse than before.

"In this course of conduct we see the origin of the single exception, which, as I have hinted above, the Bengal Government sanctions in its army. The only class of men, who notwithstanding Brahmanical scruples to the contrary, are enlisted with high-caste Hindus are Mussulmans, who, if possible, are even more opposed to the British rule than the others. When false religions are thus fostered, and God's truth branded with official disapprobation, is it wonderful

that the rules of the Shastras and Koran should come to be more regarded than the articles of war? Need it surprise us, that the native officer should be looked up to by the sepoy rather than his European superior, or that a Brahman in the ranks should have more influence in a corps than the colonel at its head? We trace the connection between the crime and the punishment, when we see the heart of a parent broken by the undutiful behaviour of his over-indulged child; and can we be chargeable with misinterpreting God's righteous dealings, when adopting the same principle we ascribe the present calamities inflicted by the Bengal army principally to the encouragements which have been afforded by the Government to its heathenish and fanatical organisation? Oh, what a saving of treasure to the Honourable Company's exchequer, and, what is still more to be valued, what a preservation of the precious lives of our countrymen and countrywomen, would there have been had there been some Christians in the ranks of the Bengal native regiments, and fewer high-caste Hindus and bigoted Mussulmans!

"I thankfully acknowledge that Indian rulers now are very different from what they were years ago. Every year lately has witnessed the introduction of government measures for the real welfare of all classes of the people. Some of these may have contributed to arouse the demon, which, knowing that it has but a short time, has gone forth to lay waste the fertile plains of the Ganges. But this evil spirit was the creation of unholy influences that were at work in past generations, and have not, as I have endeavoured to show, even yet ceased altogether to operate in this land. They seem not to be wholly unknown in favoured Britain itself, if we may judge from the report of Lord Ellenborough's speech in the House of Peers on the first intelligence of the Meerut tragedy. Doubtless, as he is represented to have said, if the Europeans were driven from India at present,

there would not be left a dozen of sincere converts to the gospel; for all would be massacred, even as British Christians here were well-nigh being. In this sense the statement of his Lordship is strictly true; but in any other it is a libel on the character of a numerous and increasing body of Christian disciples, of which its author will, I trust, live to be ashamed."

"NAGPOOR, 28*th September* 1857.

"I delayed for some weeks writing to you regarding our most merciful deliverance with the desire of making my account more accurate. I am not surprised at the many conflicting statements that appear at home on the subject of our mutiny in general, when I reflect how difficult it is to understand aright what passes at a particular locality. In the diversity of opinion which prevails, one thing seems now to be almost universally admitted among residents in the East, and that is that cartridges had little or no share in bringing about the revolt of the Bengal army. I am the more convinced of this inasmuch as, though the wheaten cakes, which are believed to have emanated from the instigators of the mutiny, did not reach the south of this Province till the month of March, they had made their appearance on our northern frontier in the middle of January, which was some days before any report was made on the murmurs at Dum-Dum, or the disaffection at Barrackpore. My own view of the origin of the disturbances is, that the Mohammedans have for some time past been animated by more than their usual hostility to the British Government, and that they have worked on the prejudices of the native soldiery, whenever there was an opportunity; while the Bengal army, whose organisation is eminently favourable to the development of insubordination, feeling that they possessed strength, determined to exercise it for the subversion of authority, in the

hope of obtaining power and wealth by the change. Of course the instigators of the mutiny were ready to join whenever the sepoys made a commencement, and the longer the insurrection continues the more of this non-military element mixes in it, and even Hindu nobles, sighing for liberty to practise more grievous wrong, were drawn into it.

"In the plot that was discovered here in June scarcely the name of a Hindu was implicated; but if another wave of the rising tide were to pass over us, it would not be matter of astonishment to find some of the Rajpoot zemindars in the east of the Province carried away with it. A large force is now hovering on our northern border, against which the column that had been pushed forward from this is very inadequate; but we trust that the Lord who has spared us hitherto will also ward off this new danger.

"I shall not write more at present, as I am not fit for much exertion. In the last two months I have suffered greatly from fever, which has returned three successive times, as soon as I returned to my work. Had it not been for the aid of our dear converts, the operations of the mission would have been well-nigh at a stand. We need help, as I feel that my strength is not what it was before the murderous assault made on me three years ago. I was prepared to hear of the esteem which my beloved colleague had gained, and the important aid he had afforded to the cause of missions at home. I hope he may be long spared to labour in the same cause at Nagpoor. Alas! how soon was the promising career of his brother cut short."

In an earlier letter, dated 19th June, which the *Witness* published, Stephen Hislop had told the facts, though not so fully, but with the same modest reticence as to his own action. Long before this time he had become known to all the city and country around as fearless, just and upright, a friend of the natives, and a foe to the abuses of his own

countrymen, while trusted and admired by the best of these. His influence with Feiz Buksh alone, under God, saved Nagpoor. It was like all his career that he should go to Kamthi to do his duty at such a time. He writes—"I have been busy in advising with Mr. Ellis, visiting the European hospital and preaching to my fellow refugees in the Fort. The commandant of the garrison is our excellent friend, Captain Johnston, a member of our church, whose zeal and ability have tended greatly to assure the families under his protection. But it is to God our thanks are due, for we have been preserved, while many of our countrymen, not more unfavourably situated than we, have been cruelly massacred."

As he wrote these words and the closing sentence of the former letter he thought with anguish of the murder at Sialkot, Panjab, of the Rev. Thomas Hunter of the Established Church of Scotland's Mission, his wife and infant child, as they were fleeing in their buggy to the fort. The fatal ball which passed through the face of the missionary entered the neck of his wife, and a gaol warder then cut both to pieces, and their boy, with a sword. Robert Hunter, Hislop's beloved colleague, was on furlough in Scotland. He had been the means of attracting to a missionary career in the East, the brother who had thus perished, and he felt responsible for his life. While submitting to the will of God, he felt that it was his duty to resign. The letter in which he informed his Church of this forms one of the most pathetic pages of the literature of the sepoy mutiny and war, which, with its blood and tears, at once obscures and glorifies the annals of our empire.

"As it could not for a moment be doubted that this afflictive visitation was sent in infinite wisdom and love, I trust I was enabled, from the first, submissively to acquiesce in the Divine appointment, though it not merely brought with it much immediate grief, but made an ominous change in all my prospects for the future. It was not

that the wish had arisen to shrink from encountering danger, or that my interest in the evangelisation of India had come to an end: on the contrary, I was conscious of a determination, in the Divine strength, still to face any perils to which duty might call, while my desire for the conversion of the heathen world was not diminished in the slightest degree. But I felt that, with my peculiarities of mental constitution, I could not hope again to be an effective labourer in the East. Nearly every object I beheld would call up the scene of the murder, and it would be in the last degree harrowing to my feelings to listen to panegyrics on the rebel party, by whom so many of those dearest to me had been barbarously murdered. If exposed to these influences there was imminent risk, either that I should be driven to an abatement of that strong love for the heathen, without which a missionary is useless, or that in the effort to resist this temptation, my mind would sink into a hopelessly morbid state. Could it have been assumed that the call of duty still summoned me to the East, it would have been a distrust of Divine grace to suppose that strength would not be afforded; but, believing the effects produced on my mind, by the terrible bereavement, to be such as wholly to disqualify me for labouring effectively in India, I viewed this as a providential intimation that my work there was over, and should have regarded it as presumption and not faith to go forward. There was thus no course open to me but the very painful one of resigning my office as a missionary. This was done after mature and prayerful deliberation, about a week after the sad intelligence was received, for until my responsibility as a missionary had ceased, and my salary been resigned, I could not with good conscience go into the lengthened seclusion then so urgently required."

Hislop thus lovingly reasoned with his friend :—

"When the first swell of emotion in your heart has subsided, I trust that you will see your way to return to Nagpoor. You ask me to consider how I would have acted had I, on my return from Kamthi on 13th June, found my dear wife and family massacred. I must say the sight of such a catastrophe would have made me turn away from this place with something akin to loathing. But if I understand my own heart, my absence would have been only for a time, or if permanent, I would have sought some other station in

Maharashtra, where my acquaintance with the vernacular and my Indian experience would not be thrown away. Were you to return to Nagpoor, your memory would be free from the vividness of the actual spectacle of death, and your residence here would be the same to you as a change to Bombay would in the case supposed have been to me. If the cause I now indicate be indeed the path of duty, you know Who has said, 'As your day is, so shall your strength be.' Arm your mind with the encouragement quoted in your third letter in the *Witness*, 'Why art thou cast down, O my soul, and why art thou disquieted within me? *Hope thou in God.*' Yes, your Almighty, ever Gracious Father, will prove to you an all-sufficient Friend. Here is the Christian's unspeakable advantage above all who lean upon mere nature's frail support. And yet there are many worldly men who have lost their dearest relatives in this mutiny continuing in India, and bearing up under their accumulated woes, simply for worldly ends. In this, as in all other things, let us seek to adorn the doctrine of our God and Saviour.

"The Lord's people here, without any exception, believe that, had you returned to Nagpoor, you would have met with nothing in your outward circumstances materially to impede your usefulness, nothing which the grace of God would not have enabled you to surmount. And in the eyes of worldly men never does the Christian spirit shine forth with greater lustre than in times of trial, when there is need of the patience of the saints, and the fortitude which is to be added to faith. It is marvellous how the Lord deals with us. Before I received your letter announcing your resignation, I was reduced to extreme weakness by repeated attacks of fever, and I was beginning to fear that I should not be able to continue at my post any longer! But when the necessity of remaining became inevitable, my recovery commenced, and now I am permitted to carry on my usual duties.

"The work hereafter will, I trust, not be much more difficult than it has been hitherto. The people may be more unwilling hearers, and had they the opportunity they might be more bitter and united opponents. But Mussulman intolerance and Hindu caste have been staked in the cause of the mutineers, and when the cause is lost their influence is *ipso facto* impaired. There will, I think, henceforth be less deference shown to the prejudices of the natives by the Government and the European community at large. I am only afraid that among the latter there will be greater indifference to any scheme devised for the good of the native population."

Writing again on 29th December 1857, Hislop refers to his colleague's resignation:—"Of course I agree with Dr. Tweedie in believing that you have erred; but I am inclined to think the error has arisen more from the sensibility of your nervous system than from a want of light in the judgment. Every person who knows you will acquit you of any fault in the moral perception. Dr. Heude considers you quite right not to return."

The invaluable *Reports on the Land Revenue Settlement* of the various districts of the Central Provinces, and Sir Charles Grant's *Gazetteer* based upon them, do justice to the researches of Hislop in physical science, and to his papers on their mineral resources; but this is all that is recorded of his far greater service in the Mutiny at a time when he was the only one of "the Scotch Church missionaries." Mr. A. B. Ross, the settlement officer, who had been Assistant Commissioner under Mr. Ellis in 1857, reports: "Secret nightly meetings in the city had been discovered by Mr. Ellis; and the Scotch Church missionaries, who had schools and some influence in the city, had given warning that the public mind was much disturbed." The journal of Mr. Hislop and narrative of Major Johnston will show further how the Christian missionary and Christian officer energised

in those days. We are still too near the events of '57 to estimate them in their proper proportion. The time will come when every contemporary record of suffering and triumph will be precious in the sight of the historian. The war of the Mutiny has been recorded, the tale of its sorrows and heroism has yet to be told.

Mr. Hislop's Journal in the Mutiny Months of 1857.

"10*th March.*—In the evening of this day the Holi fires were lighted, and by the remnant of the royal family a sheep with its legs tied was burnt alive as usual in the Chandni Chouk. Was reminded of the cruelty practised also at the Moharam on this poor animal. Last Moharam, the butler of Mr. Bell, who is over the sirdars in the city, obtained extensive presents from these sirdars, and in his character of tiger tore with his iron claws, ate part of the liver, and drank the blood, it is said, of five or six sheep until he was ready to vomit. He was not dismissed by his master. Two or three days before the Holi, heard of the cock-fighting that is carried on before the young Gond Raja, who is a ward of the Government under the care of Mr. Bell.

"About this time Captain Holland was nearly killed by a tiger in the neighbourhood of Paldi, five miles east of Nagpoor.

"About 20th, Vira, who had gone to Mangali, observed the distribution of *chapatees* (wheaten cakes) in Jamni and Talegaum, villages in that neighbourhood. Five were sent to every village, for which a pice was charged.

"*Saturday, 9th May.*—Captain Lawrence Johnston of 26th Madras Native Infantry came out on detachment duty for a week, during which he always slept on the hill. He supports a school for boys and another for girls by taking photographs. The weather, while he was here, was unfavourable to his benevolent relaxation.

"10*th.*—Mutiny occurred at Meerut; on 11th at Delhi.

"17*th.*—A report had been spread abroad that the city was to be burned down to-day, which caused many to remain by their property with vessels of water. Some houses *were* burned. In the Raja's time at the commencement of the dry and dangerous season, the Mahars and other parties dwelling in Lakud-Ganj who were interested in the destruction of houses, among whom may be included the retailers of charcoal, used to be put in prison.

"21*st*.—This afternoon it was reported to the authorities that the bodies of two sepoys who were travelling on leave from Aurangabad to their homes in Hindustan were discovered, they having been poisoned on the margin of the tank during the night by a Thug companion for the sake of their money. The guilt could not be brought home.

"27*th*.—At 1¾ P.M. a storm of thunder and heavy rain, and again a heavy shower in the evening. There had been some lighter showers for a week preceding.

"7*th June*.—A thunderstorm killed a dhobi and his bullock in the city. After it had ceased, I spoke to the Tamil Church assembled in our house of the "Covert from the tempest," the lightning-rod on which the fire of God's wrath descended that we might be safe, and the calm sunshine of God's gracious countenance after the thunder-clouds of conviction have rolled away.

"9*th*.—Meeting of Financial Board in the morning. Present, Colonel Boileau, Majors Gunom and Arrow, and myself. The accounts were given over to Major Arrow, but a few days after, owing to his increased duties in connection with the mutiny in the Irregular Cavalry under his command, he returned the books. . . .

"*Thursday*, 9*th July*.—At 6.40 A.M., execution, on the Hill, of Mohudin Husein, Risaldar.

"*Friday*, 12*th*.—Captain Johnston returns to command the Fort of Sitabaldi Hill. In consequence of representations on the state of the fort which he made to the Adjutant-General in Kamthi at the end of his first tour of duty, he was now empowered, in conjunction with Major Bell of the Ordnance Department, to effect some repairs, which were most opportune. In the evening after nightfall, Feiz Buksh with his youngest son came to our house to warn me immediately to send off my wife and children to Bombay, as a plot had been formed in the city along with the military to murder, in four days after, all the Europeans in the place. Some European artillery leave Kamthi for Jabalpoor.

"13*th*, at 6 A.M.—Communicated in a note to Mr. Ellis, Deputy Commissioner, Feiz Buksh's information, and then went to school. At the same time Mr. Plowden went to Takli to compliment the Irregular Cavalry for their willingness to go to Jabalpoor. A squadron ordered to leave that night. They asked for delay till next day. At 2 P.M. Mr. Ellis, in our house, had an interview with Feiz Buksh. 32d Regiment Madras Native Infantry leave Kamthi for north. At night the cavalry mutiny. On 14th, squadron leaves for north.

"16*th*.—Execution on the hill of one of the sowars of the Mulki Police, who is said to have been busy on night of 13th June, even after the Risala had lost heart, in endeavouring to stir up or rally his Mussulman accomplices.

"18*th*.—A movable column, under the command of Colonel Millar, left Kamthi *en route* for Shiwani, but in reality for service in the Sagar and Narbada territories.

"19*th*.—At 6 A.M. resumed worship at Kamthi, Mr. Chapman having the two previous Sabbaths conducted service for me, while I have since 21st June had a meeting with the Horse Artillery in the Residency compound.

"26*th*.—At 5 P.M. resumed worship in our Mission Church in Sitabaldi, having since 14th June had meetings on the platform on Sitabaldi Hill, on Sabbath evenings and for the most part on Thursday evenings. Was not at Kamthi on account of rain. Captain Touch conducted service.

"27*th*.—At 3 P.M. a regular attack of fever, preceded by shivering, having had premonitory symptoms two days before. Just before the attack, had a conversation with two men of 32d Madras Native Infantry and a Mussulman on the affairs of their soul. One of the 32d is a havildar named Venkana, the other a sepoy named Etirajulu, both of the Brahman caste.

"29*th*.—6¼ A.M. The execution, on the Hill, of Walayat Mia, who was married some years ago with considerable *éclat* of fireworks, etc., to the second of the last Raja's Mussulmani daughters. It is reported that he promised a rupee to every man who would fight only one hour on the night of 13th June. His body was not buried like those of the mutineers of the Risala on the Hill outside of the walls of the Fort, but was brought down on a cot in charge of Feiz Buksh, the city kotwal, for interment on the left bank of the Nalla, which flows between the Lal Bag and the hospital. There it was laid among quicklime, and a guard placed over the grave. This night, towards morning of 30th, a false alarm, which sent our family up to the Hill. . . .

"4*th August*.—The fever left me by the blessing of God. Feel extremely weak.

"5*th*.—Apaya, in visiting the Commissioner's compound for the sale of books, was accosted by a sowar of the 4th Light Cavalry, who asked one to be shown to him, which he took with him into his tent. On this a Jamadar called Apaya to him and forbade him to distribute such books among his men. The colporteur replied that he forced none to

receive them. When Apaya was going away he was again summoned by the Jamadar, who said he would carry him before the Adjutant. But Apaya declined to appear before that officer, stating that if he had anything to say he might communicate it to him through his superior in the Mission. Thus when the Spirit was working, Satan began to counterwork. These proceedings were not reported to me.

"6*th*.—Lieutenant Morris, adjutant of the cavalry, called in the name of Colonel Cumberledge to request that books might not be circulated at this time. I pleaded that, although it was not expedient to stir the minds of Colonel Cumberledge's own Mussulman sowars, yet it was not necessary that the work among Hindu sepoys should be suspended, in which connection I referred to the two men of the 32d who welcomed Apaya and his books. Mr. Morris having consulted with Colonel Cumberledge, returned with the message that the circulation of tracts must be stopped among all the military under his command, which at present includes all the native soldiers in and about Sitabaldi. I promised, of course, to comply. He had not long gone, when Captain Munley of the 32d, who is acting staff-officer here under Colonel Cumberledge, came in a conciliatory strain, hoping that nothing would be done to stir up the flame of discontent here, as it might spread no one could tell how far south. He asked the names of the two men in the 32d, as he thought it might be necessary to send them immediately over to Kamthi. I hoped nothing would be done so as to make them think that they had been visited with censure for the simple act of inquiring after Christ.

"7*th*.—At midday the two men of 32d came to our house, having received no order to depart; but they came to bid us farewell for a time, as their whole detachment in natural course was to return to Kamthi next day. They seemed to be filled with peace, and I gave them some directions how they ought to act towards their families.

"Heard the sad tidings of the massacre at Sialkot on 9th (?) ult. of Rev. Thomas and Mrs. Hunter, with their child. This will be a severe affliction to my beloved colleague and his parents. . . .

"13*th*.—At 6.10 A.M. execution, on the Hill, of Foujdar Khan, acting drill naik of the Takli Horse Battery, for having offered, as stated in the *Madras Athenæum*, to make over the guns to the insurgents. Before his death he abused all Europeans.

"14*th*.—Execution, on the Hill, of Kadar Ali Nawab at 7 A.M. He admitted that the city conspirators met at his house for deliberation. The plot, he said, was formed a good while ago in connection with people at Lucknow, Maulavis being the media. Said in *Madras*

Athenæum to have been 64 (?) years of age, to have weighed 17 stone, and worth Rs. 24,000,000.

"*20th.*—At 1½ P.M. symptoms of fever were again felt, which increased till at 2¼ P.M. Regular ague commenced and lasted for three hours, when about four hours of the hot stage followed. A similar attack at the same time two days after. . . .

"*27th.*—At 6½ execution, on Hill, of Saiad Nazur Husein, Jamadar of Irregular Cavalry, who had been apprehended along with the three first hanged, but kept till now to obtain additional proof.

"*30th.*—The night of the display of the Taboots.

"*31st.*—The day on which they were carried to be thrown into the water. The Moharam has passed off with unusual quietness. But great precautions were taken, *e.g.* the prohibition of sticks and clubs being carried, to prevent any outbreak.

"*Tuesday, 1st September.*—Resumed duties in Nagpoor school.

"*3d.*—Went with family into Kamthi, to preach there next day.

"*4th, Friday.*—Preached from Amos iii. 6. Day set apart for humiliation and prayer in connection with the present troubles in Northern India. To the appointment of such a day Mr. Plowden had early given his consent; but the naming of a day was delayed by my fever. In the meantime the Bishop of Madras sent up instructions to the chaplains to observe Thursday, 20th August; but his communication came too late, and Friday, 28th August, was substituted. This, however, was changed, as it was thought the Artillerymen could not be permitted to leave their lines to join in worship during the Muharam. Even on the 4th September, however, they were absent, as it appears the European soldiers had been on the 20th August, the day of prayer in Madras. There seemed to be very little reason for the excessive strictness in Kamthi. The collection in our Kamthi English Church was for the relief of widows and orphans of the European soldiers who fell in suppressing the rebellion in Northern India, and amounted to Rs. 32, 6 As., including Rs. 7 from Conductor Whitwell. The collection made by the Native Christians was Rs. 8, 14 As.

"Preached in the evening in Sitabaldi, where our European collection was Rs. 57¼, and the Native one Rs. 28¼. . . .

"*6th.*—After morning service left Captain Johnston, with whom we had been staying. . . . In the course of the day had a visit from the havildar and sepoy with another sepoy of the 32d Regiment, Madras Native Infantry. The two old inquirers seemed to be going on well, though the havildar was rather inaccessible while in Kamthi. A visit also from the daughter of Sicandar, the Romanist Native doctor, who

has long practised in Nagpoor. She was returning from the Romish Chapel in Sitabaldi, where she had been along with a Mussulman attendant and boy. I asked her to what circumstances I was indebted for the visit. She replied it was from no quarrelling with her priests, but from a doubt regarding the truth of Popery. The doubt originated in reading a Hindustani book, which I had given her brother, and which she had read. She disapproved, she said, of pictures and images, which received homage though they were the works of men's hands. The priests, she added, had been very anxious for her to become a nun, which she declined, especially while her aged father was alive and needed her services. She informed me that there were a great many rather wealthy Native Romanists of mixed Portuguese descent (or converts of Akbar's Jesuits?), like herself, about Bhopal and Agra.

"11*th*.—Babaji, the Kabir-panthi, came to converse about embracing Christianity. He seems to look on the step as more necessary than he used to do.

"12*th*.—At 6 in the morning there was a thick fog all round on the plain. This is only the second occurrence of such a phenomenon within the last twelve years at Nagpoor. . . .

"17*th*.—Wrote to Mr. Ellis about the prevalence in the city of a report assuming two forms; one that had it had been tom-tomed in the city that all who are too poor to lay in a supply of provisions for a year should leave; the other, that a proclamation had been made in a similar way more sweeping still, requiring all rich and poor to send off their wives and children to the villages. Mr. Ellis thought that it was scarcely expedient to issue a real proclamation to counteract the mischievous effects of this imaginary one.

"19*th*.—Received an offer from Major Snow of 86 specimens of different kinds of wood from the district of Chindwara.

"20*th*.—Major Arrow conducted service in the evening in our church here. I not able to do so either here or at Kamthi.

"21*st*.—Wrote to Mr. Plowden (in consequence of Major Snow's offer) regarding the ultimate establishment of a Museum here.

"22*d*.—Mr. Plowden, agreeably to my letter, requested Colonel Boileau in communication with me to provide temporary accommodation for Major Snow's specimens. A letter from Dr. Jerdon at Kamthi stating that he with 4th Madras Light Cavalry would leave next day, and consigning to me the disposal of his land shells. . . .

"27*th*, about 4½ P.M.—Being the ninth day of the feast of Devi or the Doorga Pooja, Major Spence and Captain Bell went together on an elephant in the sawari of the queen's adopted son to the Nag River,

where the youth alighted and worshipped the weapons and horses taken thither. The former are sprinkled and the latter led through the river, both being thus held to be bathed. One principal sword is selected for all, which is adorned half-way up the blade with a sectarial mark, uncooked rice is thrown on it, and betel leaf, flowers, and sweetmeats are presented to it. The same is done to one of the horses. These ceremonies being gone through by Janoji, formerly Apa Saheb, under the guidance of an *upadhya*, the two Europeans who had remained on their elephant returned to Sitabaldi. While the Marathi procession was returning, it is said a sheep was slain and the horses led over its body through the blood. It is on the Dasara that the buffalo is slain.

"28*th*, *Monday*.—The Dasara. The two gentlemen above mentioned along with Mr. Ellis, who has been succeeded in the charge of the district by Major Spence, and has been appointed a sort of judicial commissioner, went out this day to meet the procession of the adopted son, as he was going to the spot where the tree was wont to be worshipped in the Raja's time, but which has never been visited for that purpose since the annexation. On the two parties meeting, they went to a platform where "the usual civilities of betel and flower wreaths were offered," to use the words of Mr. Ellis, who says his only motive for going was to pay respect to Baka Bai, who is pleased with the attention; but there were no idolatrous ceremonies performed while he was present, and he believes it to be perfectly understood that the visit was a simple act of courtesy towards the Baka Bai and her adopted son Janoji.

"3*d*, *Saturday*.—At full moon this month, as the orb was rising in the east, the rays of the setting sun, after spanning the arch of the heavens in very marked lines, converged exactly on the lunar disc.

"4*th*.—This day set apart for humiliation and prayer throughout India by the Governor-General. Observed in Kamthi in the morning, and Sitabaldi in the evening. I observed in the newspapers that several Christian churches in Calcutta, displeased with the arrangement, chose Monday 28th ult. in preference, that day being a holiday in the Government offices.

"17*th*.—Saw the compound of Mr. Ross, magistrate in Kamthi, partially lighted up in connection with the Dewali. Brigadier Prior's house was not this year; but last year it was brilliantly illuminated.

"18*th*.—At Kamthi in the morning. The communion was administered. . . .

"19*th*.—Gunner Napier, a native of Glasgow and a former hearer

of Dr. King's at the U.P. Greyfriars' Church, called to explain his state of mind. He had been impressed with the sermon of the previous evening, as well as by what he had heard some weeks before on Sitabaldi Hill; and he now came to express his desire to follow Christ. May the Lord enable him to carry out this resolution!

"This evening, for the first time, the guard of Native Infantry, which has been placed at the corner of our compound since the Mutiny, dispensed with, the picket of Light Cavalry having been taken off some weeks before.

"21*st.*—Heard that Sayad Ibrahim had been some time before banished from the province and gone to Warangal. According to Lieutenant Milman, he was believed by Mr. Ellis to have been employed to seduce the Kamthi force. Jamal-ud-deen and Haji Gulani Rasul, though considered to be implicated, had also been released for want of proof.

"22*d.*—Cold weather commenced.

"1*st November.*—Being full moon, chief day of the jatra at Ramtek, and the smaller meeting at Sakardar. The gathering at the former place was only about a third of what it used to be, the disturbances in the north being unfavourable.

"6*th.*—Evening at 7, a supper in our verandah to the Native Christians, at which, besides our friends the Chapmans, there were present 26 males and 20 females—in all, 46 guests old and young.

"7*th.*—This morning at Kamthi sat for my portrait (photograph on glass) to Captain Johnston.

"8*th.*—Evening at Sitabaldi. The sacrament was dispensed before our usual service. . . . At tea after service; the English-speaking converts were present, along with Major Arrow, and some edifying discourse was held.

"9*th.*—For the last fortnight or more there has been unusual excitement among the Hindus in the city, most of whom seem to sympathise with Nana Saheb and Baiza Bai, either of whom they would be glad to welcome to Nagpoor at the head of a hostile army. Few yet believe in the capture of Delhi.

"15*th.*—Morning at Kamthi; baptized Ganga, ayah in Brigadier Prior's family, who took the name of Mary in remembrance of her lately-deceased mistress.

"20*th.*—Was told in the city to-day that word had come from Girl (Tripati? as I believe), that the door of the temple of Balaji there had shut of its own accord, the god not having time to receive the worship of his votaries in consequence of having gone to the north fo

India to assist the rebels. Occasionally the door of the temple is shut by order of Government, because Balaji, or Venkatesh, as he is also called, in his character of patel of certain villages, gets into arrears of rent, which the above coercion induces him to pay up through the priests of the temple, I suppose.

"30*th*.—The Calcutta road, 30 miles W. of Sambhalpoor, known to be stopped from the non-arrival of the dâk, which I believed was plundered. The Calcutta road, *via* Mirzapoor, had been closed for a month or two previous, owing to the anarchy prevailing in the Sagar territory.

"*Thursday*, 1*st December*.—Apaya left for Nasada and Nirmah to sell books. Vira followed on the 3d intending to go to Chinnoor, in accordance with the arrangement made with Mr. R. Arthington, junior, of Leeds.

"7*th*, *Monday morning*.—Half of the Risala and the whole of the Native Artillery from Takli under the command respectively of Captain Wood and Lieutenant Playfair, and in medical charge of Dr. Wyndowe, marched for Raepoor to assist in quelling the disturbance near Sambhalpoor. The policy of returning arms to the cavalry, which had been directed at a parade a few mornings before by Mr. Plowden, and of employing them and the suspected *Golandaz* on active service, is loudly condemned in Kamthi. I believe the re-arming was authorised by Government.

"19*th*.—In the morning crossed the Kanhan river to the quarries in company with Captains Johnston, Roberts, and Touch. In the evening an exhibition of the lantern for Europeans, artillery sergeants, etc., gratis, the higher classes, to the number of 30, at R. 1 each. Bhagawant Raw, patel of Bagaun, with some others from his village, was present. The exhibition on both of these occasions was satisfactory.

"27*th*.—Morning at Kamthi church. Colonel Hill has arrived to take charge of the commissariat department. . . .

"29*th*.—Examination of Sitabaldi and Nagpoor schools at noon. . . . Mr. Plowden, in his speech to the pupils at the close, told them they owed much to their kind benefactor, who had laboured in the city for their welfare through good and bad report. Some wished native education to retrograde; he only desired to see a new element introduced into it—God's Word, which, from what he had witnessed to-day, he was convinced might be introduced with perfect safety. We must be more open in our profession of Christianity before the people of this country, etc. The number of pupils was—

	Boys		Girls	
ENGLISH—	Present.	On roll.	Present.	On roll.
Shukarwari	28	32	5	5
Sitabaldi	31	34		
	59	66		
MARATHI—				
Shukarwari	70	85		
Aditawari	45	70		
Budhwari	72	90		
Pewate	45	76		
Hansapuri	105	124		
Mangalwari	85	110		
Gulganj	49	87		
New Shukarwari Girl's School			8	16
Total	530	708	13	21

"*Thursday, 31st December.*—At 6 A.M. started for Hingna. Six miles from Sitabaldi, on right margin of road, a large heap of stones with masoba at the top. The vermilioned stone in the centre, which was evidently regarded as chief, was an irregular piece of tertiary apparently unfossiliferous. On the north outskirts are stone circles. Was asked by one of the people the meaning of all the alarming rumours.

"*5th January* 1858.—At Satephool, where formerly I had preached to the people, all the villages gathered to hear. The patel, a Maratha named Bhagachiba, who had formed part of my former audience, at once asked me who Jesus Christ was. It was very pleasant to spend an hour, not in wrangling with disingenuous disputants about their false gods, but laying before him and his people the character and work of the Saviour, and our great need as sinners of His atonement. The patel admitted that all the Hindu modes of deliverance were insufficient, and that we needed the righteousness of Christ to save us from deserved wrath. He asked how worship ought to be conducted. Whereupon I offered up a short prayer, in which he seemed to join. There was an offer of hospitality, which I gratefully declined. The patel hoped that the English Government would drive back the rebels on the north of the Narbada. He loved the present regime under which he was favoured with peace and justice. He knew too well what it was to be invaded and plundered and tortured by swarms from

Northern India (the Pindarees). He accompanied me to the outside of the village, meeting on the road Maroti's temple. He expressed a hope that the time might come when it would be deserted. He had heard of the discovery of fossils, *e.g.* shells and leaves in stones."

Kamthi was a station of the Madras Army at which were four of its infantry regiments, of these only one was trusted. The presence of their families kept the men from outrageous mutiny, but the expense of their marriages and family life, the heavy indebtedness of the majority, and the frequent long and costly marches made many dislike a service which was often hereditary. The 36th Madras Native Infantry had openly mutinied on its march from the Ganjam coast to Kamthi, which it reached a few weeks before the outburst at Meerut.

Major L. Johnston's Narrative.

"On the 10th June 1857, the Adjutant-General asked me to go out to Sitabaldi and take the command of the place. . . . There were twenty tons of powder in the two magazines in the fort; and the arsenal about 300 yards below was full of powder and warlike stores of every kind, which had been brought from Sagar when the Bengal troops relieved the Madras. . . . The fort was about 200 yards long and 80 broad, it had eighteen guns mounted and weather boxes behind them, which had been left there and renewed since 1812, when we first took it. At this time there was only a guard of eight men in the fort, and one sentry over the guard, the rest of the men were in a barrack about 150 yards from the fort. . . . The whole military stores in the arsenal, the powder magazines and treasury, containing at that time fourteen lacs of rupees, depended on the vigilance of one sentry. The fort was in such a dilapidated state that any one could have walked into it at any spot and without being seen. In Kamthi cantonment nine miles off, there were only about twelve rounds of cartridges per man, and the artillery had only a few rounds per gun.

"When I took the command I sent thirty men to the arsenal and made the other seventy sleep in the fort, and made all other necessary arrangements in case I should be attacked. I found out a great many suspicious circumstances, all which I duly reported by a camel post which was established between the Adjutant-General and myself, and

thereby reports interchanged twice a-day. I applied for forty European artillerymen, and said if I got them I would hold the fort against all that could be brought against me; the reply was—not a European could be spared, if I was attacked I was to hold out. . . . I had just gone to bed at 9½ P.M., when I was told a lady with a sick man and a number of children were at the gate. I found it was Mrs. Macgrath of the 1st Regiment Madras Native Infantry, with her husband who was prostrate, and a lot of children. She told me to get my men under arms at once, as the whole of the Irregular Force at Nagpoor (one field Battery, 800 Cavalry and 800 Irregular Infantry) with the whole of the men in Nagpoor, were marching to attack my post. I instantly loaded the eighteen guns and stationed three men with a lighted port fire over each gun, with orders to fire away as fast as they could, as they would by doing so keep the foe from coming to close quarters, and give the alarm to the garrison at Kamthi. . . .

"It came out at the court-martial held on four native officers a few days after the outbreak, that, on a fire balloon being sent up from the palace between eleven and twelve, the Irregular Force and a thousand of the townspeople were to attack my force, and after slaughtering every one in the place—the Irregular Cavalry were to gallop into Kamthi, surround the church, where all the Europeans would be assembled for morning worship, and slaughter them all; they would then be joined by the native regiments in Kamthi—of this they had been assured—and thus form a nucleus of an army. A guard of twenty-five sowars from the Native Irregular Cavalry had been told off to take up a position between Nagpoor and Kamthi to cut off any that might have escaped the butchery at Sitabaldi; mounted couriers were stationed every six miles between Nagpoor and Mirzopoor, and between Nagpoor and Secunderabad to give instant intelligence of the fall of Nagpoor. I had been in the habit of spending the day with the Hislops, and going up to the fort at night by a bye-path, to sleep there. That night the rebels had placed a guard to cut me off; not making my appearance as usual, one of them came to Mr. Hislop's house and told one of his servants if she did not at once tell where I was he would slay her; she said, 'He has not been here to-day.' Three days after the outbreak four native officers, guarded by European officers, were handed over to me as prisoners. . . . I put leg-irons on them. The following day their commanding officer came and told me the Commissioner was furious at me for disgracing these men by putting them in irons; he will now be

compelled to try them by court-martial. Next day three of them were so tried, and ordered to be hanged.

"At this time a council of war was held at Kamthi, as to whether the cantonment of Kamthi should be evacuated, and the whole force concentrated at Sitabaldi. . . . It was supposed that either Holkar or Sindia, or both, would march down and attack us. To be prepared for the worst, it was decided that stores of every kind for an army of 10,000 men should be laid up in the fort, and firewood and forage for cattle and horses outside the fort, and tanks of water built of sufficient capacity to last for three months. The tanks were built and filled, and I had to receive and store up every conceivable requisite for a siege. If an enemy had appeared, I am afraid he would have had a bad time of it. . . . One morning the whole force at Sitabaldi was ordered to parade under the guns of the fort. The Irregular Cavalry was there and then disarmed, the arms and saddles taken from them. I was ordered, if there was any attempt at resistance, to pour grape into them, and prevent as many as possible from escaping. . . . The Commissioner's coachman had disappeared two days before the outbreak; it was discovered the rebels had taken him away and kept him under the influence of opiates, so that he should not be available if required. At the first alarm he was sought for, but could not be found. Mr. Plowden in consequence drove his carriage himself into Kamthi to the Brigadier's house, and was the first to give the alarm. Brigadier Prior told me this himself, and said it was some time before he could explain what had happened; he had the ladies removed from the carriage, and gave the necessary orders for a force to start at once for Sitabaldi. . . . On the first alarm I sent a guard down to the Mission House to bring up Mrs. Hislop and family, Mr. Hislop having gone to Kamthi for services there the following day.

"On Friday night, 12th June, a Mussulman from the city came to Mr. Hislop and warned him to be off with his family as great events were about to take place. He replied, 'You know me too well to suppose that I would do anything of the kind without knowing the reason.' He then told the rebels' plans to Mr. Hislop, who took him at once to Mr. Robert Ellis. . . .

"On the march up of my regiment from Russellkonda to Nagpoor, on passing Chanda I said to the officers around me, 'If coal is to be found anywhere in India it is sure to be found here.' They asked why I said so, I replied, 'I come from a a coal district, and here are all the same features.' On arrival at Kamthi I mentioned this to Mr. Hislop, who said, 'You are quite

right, I found coal there three years ago, and sent specimens of it up to Government. About eight years after this another individual found coal there, and got large rewards. Mr. Hislop afterwards showed me thin seams of coal in the bed of the river at Kamthi, he had no doubt the seams would thicken as they got down. A number of officers eagerly availed themselves of the opportunity of getting instruction from Mr. Hislop in geological and botanical pursuits. No one could be in his society without feeling that it was good for them to be there, and their intercourse with him almost always ended in their conversion."

Mr. Hislop's correspondence with Dr. Wilson in Bombay was close during these troublous times. On the 27th May the latter wrote to him: "How formidable is the military insurrection! What a mercy it is that the population of the country is quiet! How remarkable it is that the Christian missions are not implicated in the movement! I hope that the Government will not succumb to caste, which it has pampered too long. The tabooing of the army, and shutting it out from Christianising and liberalising influences, is bringing its own punishment. The lenity of the punishment of the mutineers at Bolarum last year is occurring to many." On the 25th November Dr. Wilson again wrote: "We keep an anxious eye on Nagpoor on your account." When the first anniversary of the great deliverance was at hand we find Hislop writing thus to his brother on 12th June 1858:— "To-morrow will be the anniversary of our deliverance from the sword of the Mussulman. Should we not ever bear in mind that merciful event, so as to increase the gratitude of our hearts, and the testimony of our lives?"

Towards the end of 1857 the Hislops bade farewell to Captain W. D. Chapman and his family, with whom they had much friendly and spiritual intercourse when stationed at Kamthi. Captain Chapman, who still survives, bears this testimony to the influence of Hislop as a man and a Christian teacher; and in particular to the service which he was enabled

to do to his countrymen and the empire on the night of the 13th June 1857:—

"One of our earliest friendships, and certainly one of the most intimate and helpful, was formed with Mr. Hislop and his dear wife, who resided within a drive of Kamthi. Like many Scotsmen his manner was reserved. He was not a man of many words, but when he did speak his words were weighty, and no one could fail to be impressed with the sterling reality and downright honesty of purpose of our dear friend's whole life. Perhaps one of the most conspicuous traits in his character was that he was 'clothed with humility.' At the time which I refer to the ministry in the Church of England was not, in my judgment, to edification, and I became a regular attendant at the services held in the Free Church Mission-room. Very delightful was the teaching of our friend. To this day I remember with pleasure a series of sermons he preached on Psalm cx., and though I regretted (as an English Churchman) the loss of our beautiful Liturgy, I felt that I was amply repaid by the reiteration of sound doctrine and earnest practical teaching which fell from his lips.

"It was our privilege to receive him from time to time on Saturday evenings, so that he might be fresh for the Sunday morning ministrations. My dear wife happened to observe on one occasion, from the length of the candles when Mr. Hislop retired to his room, and their exceedingly diminished proportions when they were brought out of his room on the following morning, that he had consumed a large proportion of the midnight oil; and knowing how wearied he often was at the end of the week, she determined, upon the next occasion of his visit, to supply the candlesticks with but short fragments. This was done. In the morning, Mr. Hislop acknowledged to having had a thoroughly refreshing sleep, and I cannot recall that the sermon suffered in consequence. So, when, upon a future occasion, he was again our guest, fag ends of candles were once more found on the writing table in his bed-room. That night the baby was restless, and in the small hours of the morning my wife went into the nursery, and passing Mr. Hislop's room observed light shining under the door. Next morning particular inquiries were made as to how he had slept. He was far too truthful a man to evade the question, and so replied, 'Thank you, I did not get to bed till somewhat late for I had my sermon to write.'—'But how could you write your sermon in the dark,' said she, 'for I only gave you very short pieces of candle on purpose that you might go to bed early.'—'I found that out,' replied

Mr. Hislop, 'the last time I was here, so I brought my own candles with me.' We had a good laugh over the joke, and told him that his determined Scottish pertinacity was too much for us, and that he should have his own way in the future. His enthusiasm in his ministerial calling was thoroughly characteristic of the man. Very different from Dr. Duff, whom I have seen enter the pulpit decently attired in his Geneva gown, and after a few sentences finding that it impeded the action of his arms and the flow of his oratory, with an impatient 'Tut, tut,' clutch at the offending garment on this side and on that and toss it down on to the floor of the pulpit, Mr. Hislop was quiet—not impassioned; slow—not impulsive, but his was the determined dogged perseverance of a holy enthusiasm in the fulfilment of duty for the sake of the Master, and the undying souls of the millions around him, which nothing could turn aside. While allowing nothing to interfere with the one object of his life, that of telling 'it out among the heathen that the Lord is King,' he was much interested and deeply versed in scientific subjects. He could speak 'Of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall.' He was a Geologist and a Conchologist as well as a Botanist. I doubt not but that this, his great general information, made him an exceedingly popular teacher among his more intelligent scholars and converts; and surely he would find "sermons in stones—books in the running brooks," and texts in everything by which to lead his hearers to look from the God of Nature to the revelation of Himself as the God of Grace, as He is manifested in His most holy Word."

"In the Nagpoor Commission there was a professed infidel at the time of which I am writing. He was a kind-hearted man, and not unfrequently, coming across poor little waifs and strays who were fatherless and motherless, he would take charge of them, and make them over to be adopted by the Free Church Mission—himself meeting the necessary expenses. Mr. Hislop remarked upon the inconsistency of his conduct, when he replied that, albeit he was not a believer in the Bible, he was quite sure his little orphans would be better cared for in the Mission, and under Mr. Hislop's wing, than anywhere else.

"It always struck me as a very remarkable testimony to the love and honour in which Mr. Hislop was held by the unconverted natives, that at the time of the intended Mutiny at Nagpoor, he should have been the first man, and, so far as I know, the only man who received any intimation of the proposed rising. The man, although he had

not accepted Christ, could not bear that his old friend and his son's kind good teacher should be foully murdered. What a conclusive answer this one fact is to the all-prevailing cry of the time that the Mutiny was caused by the injudicious efforts of the missionaries to convert the Hindus and Mohammedans to Christianity."

Feiz Buksh was one of a class of unbaptized Christian students and friends to whom, through Mr. Hislop, the authorities and military in 1857 were indebted for loyal aid. Risaldar Sheik Ismail, who became native head of the Intelligence Department with General Whitlock's column, never publicly confessed Christ, but Hislop used to say of him that he trusted him more than any avowed convert, and that the soldier knew the Bible better than any native he had influenced. Another of his friends was the Parsee millionnaire, Kharsetjee, uncle of the present philanthropic Sir Dinshaw Manockjee Petit. He was the contractor who by his supplies enabled our troops to scour Central India after Tantia Topi, and to restore order over its wide expanse. Major L. Johnston raised a corps of 1100 Sebundies, or irregulars, from the Kamthi bazaars, and sent half of them with that column, thus converting doubtful characters into interested and intelligent sappers. Some of the best of these were Christians.

The tour which Mr. Hislop completed at the beginning of 1858, south to Haidarabad frontier, led him to these conclusions: —"The minds of the people were less unsettled by the disorders which prevail on our northern frontier than might have been anticipated. True, Mussulmans and Brahmans are discontented with the British rule—the former on account of the loss of their political power, and the latter by reason of the anticipated departure of their religious authority; but the great body of the agricultural inhabitants have few interests in common with them. The cultivators have too vivid a recollection of the days of the Pindarees to desire another invasion

from beyond the Narbada, with all its concomitants of torture, plunder, fire, and sword. More than once was I invited to partake of the frugal fare which their houses afforded; and when the cakes were exhausted or thought to be too old for a gentleman to eat, a fresh supply has been provided between the period of my commencing and finishing my discourse. This was done not merely as a fawning compliment to a European, whose favour it was thought expedient to secure, but out of real kindness of heart, because it was late in the forenoon and I was believed to require something to eat.

"At Vela, which is a stronghold of Brahmans, I met several who are devoted to the study of astronomy. Speaking of idolatry, I remarked that even their own books acknowledged that it was a system fit only for the ignorant, while the spiritual worship of God was the way of wisdom; but one of the evils of the system was, that so far from having a tendency to elevate its followers from the state of spiritual ignorance of which it was the indication, it deprived them of the worldly knowledge which their forefathers possessed. 'Which of you, for example,' I inquired, 'could write a book on the solar system like ancient astronomers?" This led to a conversation on the discrepancy on this subject between the old treatises written by men who are admitted to have been uninspired, and the Purans, which are believed to be a revelation from heaven. This discrepancy the most learned in the audience were obliged to acknowledge they could not reconcile; and on being called on to state which they regarded as the most correct, they were under the necessity of preferring the human to the pseudo-divine view. It was easy to point out the consequences of this admission; for if their Purans err on such a simple thing as the relative distances of the sun and moon, which may be discovered any time an eclipse takes place, what trust is to be put in their statements on the important questions regarding God and salvation.

"A similar reception awaited Vira at Chenoor, one of the towns selected by Mr. Arthington for special effort. Here, when the books were spread out for inspection, several Brahmans began to examine them with eagerness, until a Rohilla (Mussulman from Northern India) interposed with the remark—'What! Is it possible that you Brahmans are taking these books into your hands? They are made of leather, not of paper.' Vira assured them they were of paper. 'You are a liar,' said the Rohilla; 'they are of leather, as the English are now making cartridges of leather.' In this man's conduct we have just an epitome of the chief cause of the Indian mutiny. The plot was a Mohammedan one, formed long before the outbreak of rebellion at Meerut, the murmurs of disloyalty at Barrackpore, or even the whispers of disaffection at Dum Dum; and the design was to take advantage of anything that might arise, and to invent stories though nothing should occur, for the purpose of working on the prejudices of the native population, and especially the formidable army of Bengal sepoys. How this policy succeeded in Hindustan is too well known; and now it was acted on with results somewhat similar in a town of the Deccan. The head official of Chenoor ordered Vira instantly to depart on pain of being beaten."

When sending home his report to the General Assembly of 1858, he thus called to remembrance the important events with which it had been and ever will be associated:—

"At this station in June we were on the very brink of destruction; but the Lord, as by a miracle of mercy, delivered us. And here it was that our gracious God rolled back the tide of rebellion and suffered it not to overflow the South of India. Had the fidelity of our Madras sepoys been tried by an enemy already triumphant over the European residents of Sitabaldi, it is not hazarding too much to say that it would not have been able to stand the test. And on the fall of Nagpoor into the hands of the insurgents, and the defection of this outpost of the Madras Native Army, who could

have calculated on the peace of Haidarabad or the Southern Presidency?

"Notwithstanding the evil designs of cruel men our work has suffered no serious interruption. With the exception of three weeks of vacation, which were due in June at any rate, the schools were carried on after the contemplated measure as regularly as before; and, except when prevented by illness, my visits to the city throughout the last year were as frequent as during any former one. During the same period, although there has been only one adult baptized, yet there has been much spiritual inquiry among the native population, indeed more than I have ever seen since I came to India."

Mr. Hislop had bent the bow too long, had withstood the physicians too obstinately, but where was he to look for relief? Instead of welcoming a third missionary, he had lost the help of his only colleague, and that a man perfectly suited to him and the work. The letters from home brought echoes of the old days and glimpses of the old scenes on which in exile memory lingers with a fond longing. His wife had been as enduring and silently abundant in labours as himself, but that could not last much longer. Their boy had been early sent to Scotland to school, and their three girls ought to have been out of the tropics long before. He thus wrote to his brother:—

"NAGPOOR, 12*th October* 1857.— . . . I received your brief *chit* from Duns, around which you and our dear boy were enjoying yourselves. I could still enter with a good deal of youthful ardour into those rambles over old scenes which you describe, though I fear my bodily strength after a thirteen years' residence in the East would not be equal to yours. . . .

"We were grieved to receive from Mr. Hunter the intelligence of his having formally tendered his resignation of his office as a missionary, in consequence of the tidings which had just reached him of his brother's lamented death at Sialkot. This is a great blow to me and to the Mission, and I hope he may yet be led to change his resolution. In the freshness of his grief I do not wonder that he felt something like an aversion to return to India; but when he has had time calmly to reflect on the whole circumstances of the case, I trust he will see there

has nothing happened in God's providence to warrant the step he has too hastily taken. Never does the Christian spirit shine forth with greater lustre than in times of trial, when there is need of the patience of the saints and the fortitude which is to be added to faith. . . . I can do all things and suffer all things through Christ strengthening me, is the language of the true believer.

"I do not know what arrangements will be made for aiding this station should my dear colleague not return; but I have no doubt that everything will be done to afford me speedy help. It is providential that I have been raised up from my late sickness at this juncture, and I trust that I may be permitted to labour another year without any great interruption. I feel I need a change ere long, and many a time has our medical attendant recommended it.

"There are not wanting encouragements in the work. I have mentioned two men belonging to the 32d Madras Native Infantry. They are still going on well, and I hope to see them leave all things for the Saviour. Two days ago I had a visit from a lad in the city, formerly at one of our schools there, but now engaged in selling butter. He seems to have a sincere desire to follow Christ, but he has not a great amount of knowledge.

"Now that Delhi is taken and Lucknow relieved, and so many reinforcements arriving, we need not fear many fresh disasters. All here is quiet. But fighting goes on near Jabalpoor, 160 miles to the north of us.

" . . . As soon as you returned to Blair Lodge after the holidays you must have discovered some fossil insects. Do they not exceed in interest your recent ones? The Saxifrage has been duly received with many thanks."

Madras went to the rescue of Nagpoor, as Hislop had helped Madras, giving up the Rev. J. G. Cooper and his wife, to take charge. From Bombay the Rev. Adam White was sent, and did good service; soon after, however, he joined the Baptist Church, and opened a mission on his own account at Poorandhar, south of Poona. The Rev. Richard Stothert, who had been sent out from Scotland to strengthen the Bombay staff, took his place at Nagpoor. White's career was short and glorious, like that of other sons

whom Aberdeen, in its University and Free Church of Scotland's College, has trained to die as well as live for the dark races of mankind. Four years after he was ministering, night and day, to a mass of Hindu pilgrims, whom cholera in its worst epidemic form had seized at the town of Saswad, when he fell a victim to the disease. "He has given up his life, as he gave up his all, to the great cause of India's regeneration," wrote the daily journals of Bombay. "Not slain by fanatics, nor cut off by those who are supposed to hate a missionary, but a martyr to his own self-devoted love to the bodies and souls of the natives of India, Adam White, the pure and the single-eyed, has passed away to his rest." His widow, and then the Free Church of Scotland, entered into the inheritance he left them by establishing a Mission at Saswad.

Mr. Hislop's last act, before leaving Nagpoor, in September 1858, was the joyful duty of baptizing seven converts, one of them Baba Pandurang's Hindu wife. Before we follow the wearied evangelist to his native land, we must gather in the fruits of his toil for the Gonds and for Science, as missionary, ethnologist, archæologist, and naturalist.

CHAPTER VII

THE MISSIONARY AMONG THE CHILDREN OF THE HILLS—GOND ETHNOLOGY AND ARCHÆOLOGY

Prae-Aryan peoples of India—Misunderstood and oppressed—Lord Dalhousie does justice to the Santals—Christian Church slow at first to do its duty—Aboriginals mixed and pure—First uniform census—Hislop's researches result in essay on the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces—His vocabulary of thirteen unwritten dialects—Writes down the Lay of Lingo—Estimate of his labours by Sir R. Temple—By land revenue officials—By Colonel Dalton—By Dr. John Wilson—The name Gond—The twelve and a half classes—Characteristics of the Gonds generally—Their dialects of Tamil rather than Telugu origin—The Kûrs and Kôls proved to have affinities with the north-east tribes of Assam, Burma, and Malacca—The five songs of the Gonds—Parallel with Hiawatha legend—"Argument" of the Lay of Lingo—The coming of Lingo the Holy—The giant and his seven daughters—The settlement of the Gonds and the passing of Lingo—The whole a picture of the Western Gonds—The True Incarnation preached by missionaries to the Gonds since Hislop—Takalghat, its mounds and stone circles—Hislop's excavations in 1847 and 1863—Those of Meadows Taylor and Sir George Yule in Haidarabad State—Colonel Forbes Leslie's book—Latest view as to Prehistoric men by Professor Prestwich—Hislop's pioneer discoveries.

THE prae-Hindus of India have an interest of their own which Stephen Hislop was, with Bishop Caldwell farther south, one of the earliest to apprehend on its practical or civilising as well as scholarly side. All the teaching both of language and archæology comes to this, that the Aborigines of India are northmen of the Scythian stem. Turanians of the same original stock as the Finns who went northwards, carrying with them the demon-worship of their Shamanite ancestors, they seem to have descended on the plains of

India in successive waves, following each other at long intervals of time. When the Aryan or Indo-European migration set in, it found these Turanian peoples in possession of the south of India from which it was beaten back, but it drove the black serpent races in the centre up into the hills. With its marvellous and sacerdotal elasticity Brahmanism assimilated to itself—and so formed modern Hinduism—the cults of the Turanians and Sudras, but it has been more deteriorated by these than it has ever been able to elevate them.

Hislop's researches enabled him to trace and distinctly mark off two at least of these great migratory hordes from the plains of Asiatic Scythia. First, probably, came the Dravidians, meaning "southerns," by the same north-west route along which Hindu and Mohammedan followed them, dropping near Sindh the Brahui tribe as they rolled on, and stopping only at Cape Comorin. Then, secondly, there came the Kolarians by a north-east route down as far as the hills of Chutia Nagpoor, till they met and crossed their elder Dravidian kinsmen. The Gonds are the purest and most numerous representatives of the Dravidian aborigines untouched by any other faith than their own; the Kôls and Santals are the best known representatives of the Kolarians, from whom thousands have been recently won to Christianity.

One unhappy fact is true of all these indigenous races; they have been misunderstood and oppressed by each successive invader of India—Hindu, Mohammedan, and English. They have been hunted or abandoned to death, and only the wild jungle has given them a refuge along with the beasts of prey. Hindu mythology and history, such as it is, is full of denunciation, scorn, fear of the little, black, simple, truthful, and drink-loving peoples, who, having reached a comparatively high state of civilisation, were robbed and thrust back into the nomadic and almost bestial habits from which we are only now weaning them.

With the exception of two or three young officials, like Brown and Augustus Cleveland, the English Government of India ignored the existence of hill tribes, while unconsciously arming the Hindus and their own native subordinates with the weapons of law, police, and excise, to deceive and ruin them. When the oppression became so keen that life was impossible, the tribes would rise, and "a little war" would follow, in which half a generation of their young men would be shot down, and the survivors would be shut in to their hills still more straitly. At last, in 1855, the time came for political justice. The Santals, some two hundred miles to the north of Calcutta, rose in insurrection. Having put it down, and having an officer like the late Sir George Yule to put in charge of them as a civilian, the Marquis of Dalhousie decreed that their children should be educated by the Christian missionaries, half the expense to be borne by the Government. One of the last acts of the expiring Court of Directors of the East India Company was, under a panic caused by the Mutiny of 1857, to censure the arrangement. But, in 1860, the Queen's Government repeated the policy, as one of true neutrality, genuine humanity, and political duty, with the best results ever since.

Though before the Government in attempting to atone to the non-Aryan peoples of India for centuries of oppression and years of neglect, the Christian Churches were slow to enter on what has proved to be their most immediately fruitful field. In South India, indeed, the Lutheran, Anglican, and Nonconformist missionaries early laid the foundation of the great churches and communities of Tinnevelli and Travankor among the Dravidian demonolaters. But in North-east India little was really done for the Kolarian tribes till the Santal insurrection of 1855, although Carey had written as he passed through them in 1799, "I long to stay here and tell those social and untutored heathen the good

news from heaven. I have a strong persuasion that the doctrine of a dying Saviour would, under the Holy Spirit's influence, melt their hearts." In Central India nothing could be done till Hislop reduced to writing the language of the Gonds, revealed their folk-lore, and year by year preached Christ among them in their obscurest haunts.

The vastness of the problem with which he was the first practically to grapple may be imagined from the fact that the aboriginal population of India, mixed and pure, has been estimated by officials at eighty millions, or nearly one-third of the whole inhabitants. This number is doubtless within the truth if it includes all of prae-Aryan descent who have been drawn into Hinduism or driven into Mohammedanism. But if we confine our attention to the pure non-Aryans, whom it is still possible, and whom it is our duty to rescue for Christian civilisation and loyal service to the British Government, then the number is not a twelfth of that estimate.

When on the 17th February 1881 the first uniform census of all India, except Kashmeer, was taken, the "Aboriginals" were returned at about six and a half millions in number, against one hundred and eighty-eight millions of Hindus, fifty millions of Mohammedans, three and a half millions of Buddhists, and nearly two millions of Christians. The natural growth of the population and the extension of our rule over Upper Burma have made the total population of the empire of British India this year about two hundred and seventy millions. The officials charged with the enumeration of 1881 prominently repeat that the Aboriginals number more and the Hindus less than these returns, because of the ignorance of the former and the desire of the enumerators who belonged to the latter to favour their own religion. Of this, at least, we may be sure that there were in Hislop's time, and are still, at least six and a half millions of the

aboriginal tribes who, not having been converted to Christianity, or to a Hindu belief, or to Islam, retain, if they have any religion at all, the primitive cult of their forefathers, adoring nature under the various forms or images they have chosen to select as representing deity. Since the early efforts of Sir Donald M'Leod and the Gossner missionaries among the north-eastern Kolarians, and Hislop's pioneering efforts among the south-western Gond family, thousands have been drawn into the Christian Church.

Hislop's heart yearned, and he laboured incessantly to save the Gonds from that Hinduism to which, but for Christian missions, they must inevitably be attracted. It is still a fact of powerful significance for Christendom, as it was for him, that so many millions of simple nature or demon-worshippers are untouched by the fossilising influence of the Brahmanical and Puranic systems. Of these six and a half millions one fourth are in the Central Provinces and Central India. The Scottish missionary, as the result of his annual wanderings among them, to preach the gospel of the Kingdom, reduced to writing the language of the 1,079,565 who returned themselves as Gonds. When asked for the first time by the enumerators, as to their religion, their ages, and whether their friends were married, they frequently burst into laughter, thinking such questions quite absurd. Widowers especially were among their objects of merriment. The rumours spread by fear or ill-designing Hindus, that recruits were wanted for the Afghan War, or wives for the English soldiers, or even that new taxes were to be imposed, had no effect on these simple and truthful children of nature. They were amused, they were not suspicious. The health and freedom alike from vice and crime, which the Gonds enjoy owing to their open-air life in the hills and forests, are marked by the fact that the proportion of males in every 10,000 of both sexes was found to be so high

for an oriental people as 4976 in ordinary to 4989 in feudatory territory; or practically there was no disparity.

By incessant correspondence with officials, as well as his own personal studies and tours, Hislop so mastered the Gond and other hill races in the course of ten years, that he wrote his first draft of an essay on all the aboriginal tribes of the Nagpoor country, their languages, folk-lore, customs, art, and architectural remains, and took the work with him, in manuscript, to Scotland. There he amplified and improved it by further research, and correspondence with experts who had retired from service or were familiar with the ethnological and archæological questions involved in the inquiry. On his return to India, when Lord Canning constituted the Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces, under Sir Richard Temple, Mr. Hislop enlarged his design so as to include the whole of the new Province; and he amplified his knowledge of the Gonds in particular by a study of those of Mandla, to the north. He accordingly made the Gond portion of the earlier essay the basis of (1) a new treatise on the Gonds, which was nearly completed at the time of his sudden removal. He had prepared (2) a vocabulary of these eleven unwritten dialects of the aboriginal tribes—Gondi, Gayeti, Rutluk, Naikude, Kolami, Madi or Maria, Madlia, Kuri or Muasi, Keikadi, Bhatrain, and Parja, to which he added the allied Telugu and Tamil. He had taken down, chiefly from a Gond *pardhan* or priest-bard who recited them (3) the songs which form the Lay of Lingo, their prophet-founder, a rude epic of 997 Gondi lines, ranging from the creation of the world and the Gonds to the institution of the rites of marriage by Lingo. These were edited and published in 1866 by Sir Richard Temple, the Chief Commissioner, under the title of *Papers Relating to the Aboriginal Tribes of the Central Provinces, left in MSS. by the late Reverend Stephen Hislop, Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland at Nagpoor.*

The editor introduced the Papers by a preface, which characterised their author as "a gentleman distinguished for all the virtues and qualities becoming his sacred profession, and for attainments in scholarship and practical science. . . . During years of labour in the service of the Mission he diligently and perseveringly inquired, not only into the physical resources of the country, but also into the languages, the manners, the religions, the histories, and the antiquities of the people. He investigated much regarding the aboriginal tribes, and especially the Gond people. . . . In the cold season of each year he made tours by marching in the interior of the districts, and thus saw much of and heard much from the people in their homes, their villages, their fields, and their forests. He was generally accompanied by educated natives connected with the Mission, who helped him in securing full and correct answers to all queries. These were native catechists and preachers, either stationed in or moving about the country—and especially in Chindwara, the heart of the Gond region—who recorded and transmitted facts to him. He was acquainted with various European officers and gentlemen who resided among or otherwise came in contact with these tribes, and who supplied him with information. He made use of all these several advantages with patience, assiduity, and research. He tested and verified the information thus accumulated by extensive study of the works of other authors on the aboriginal races of India and of other countries. . . . To the elucidation of the character of the tribes he devoted so much of his heavily-taxed time and thought." He is further described by the Chief Commissioner as revered and beloved by all who knew him, as respected by all scientific persons interested in the practical advancement of India, and as cherished in memory by the natives, for whose moral and lasting welfare he laboured so long.

The conclusions of Mr. Hislop on the language, customs,

and character of the millions of Gonds in the Central Provinces were verified and accepted as authoritative by the experts who, as deputy commissioners, land-settlement officials, and forest conservators, were reorganising the whole administration. The land-revenue settlement Reports of Mr. W. Ramsay on Chindwara district, Mr. H. Rivett Carnac on Wardha, Mr. J. W. Chisholm on Belaspoor, and others, frequently acknowledge indebtedness to him. Sir Charles Grant in his *Gazetteer of the Central Provinces*, quotes Mr. Hislop at length as his final authority. Colonel Dalton, in his magnificent large quarto on the *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal*, illustrated by lithograph portraits copied from photographs, which Sir George Campbell published when Lieutenant-Governor, takes full advantage of Mr. Hislop's researches as to the western Gonds, while criticising them on the points in which their results differ from his own on the aborigines of Bengal to the East.

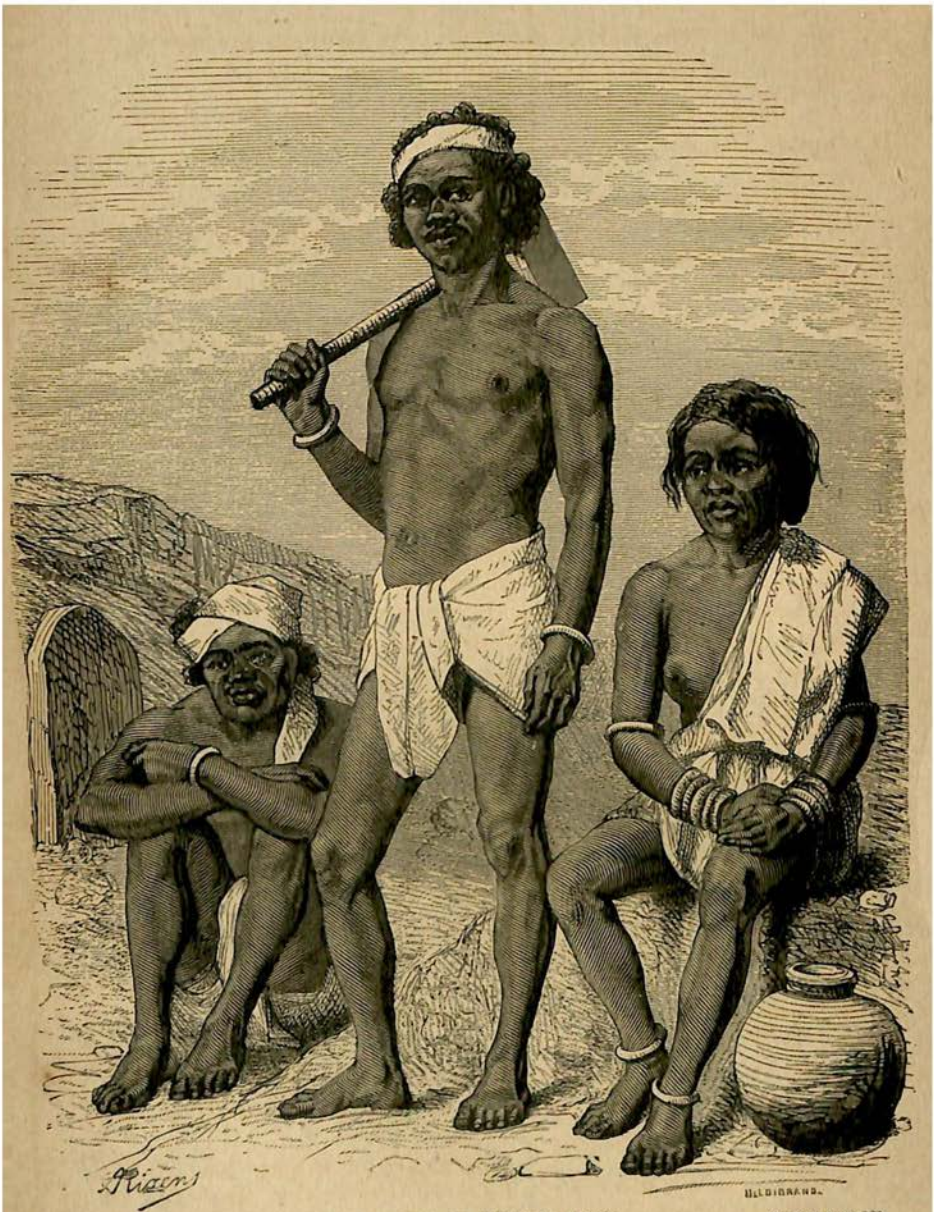
Love for the people, the daily sacrifice of his life for their highest good, gave Stephen Hislop a motive in all his scientific researches, as it inspired David Livingstone in his weary tramping over tropical Africa, which the keenest devotion to physical research for its own sake can never create. Dr. John Wilson of Bombay, than whom there was no better judge, realised this when he thus wrote of him: "Mr. Hislop conducted the most minute inquiries not only into the topography of the whole of the Nagpoor province, but into the social and religious state of its varied tribes and tongues, including those in the most depressed condition. This was work specially worthy of a pioneer missionary. In the researches which he conducted in connection with it he ever manifested a spirit of pure benevolence and humanity, striving particularly to remove all injurious misunderstandings and misrepresentations. . . . He thus replied to an inquiry which I had addressed to him relative to a horrible charge

long brought against one of the older tribes of a district belonging to Nagpoor: 'I cannot delay my reply to your question regarding the reputed cannibalism of the aborigines east of Amarkantak. I had observed the account given by Lieutenant Prendergast (in Alexander's *East India Magazine*, 1831), and, as it has influenced the statements of many writers since, I had intended, whenever I put together all my notes on our jungle tribes, to prove its inaccuracy; but I must now content myself by giving a very decided denial of its truth. Lieutenant Prendergast never witnessed an instance of cannibalism in the Binjewars, or Bunderwars, as he writes the name; his whole proof is vague rumour. The reports of the savage cruelty of the forest tribes generally originate in the hate of the higher castes contiguous, and some Europeans have only to credit these reports without inquiry, to keep these tribes exterior to the pale of their benevolence. Well is it that the herald of the Cross presents himself as the friend of both the oppressed and depressed.'"

The name Gond or Gund—interchangeable with Kond or Kund, which denotes the aborigines of Orissa, who used to sacrifice human victims known as Merias—is from the Telugu word for a mountain, and may be taken to mean "hill-men." The Gonds are found in the old division which the Mohammedans called Gondwana, from the Vindhya range south to the Godavari river. The word in the form applied by the people to themselves has the same meaning; it is Koi-tor—the Gond *par excellence*, from Koi, "a hill," equivalent to the Persian Koli and Telugu Konda. Following the Hindu example the Gonds classify themselves in twelve and a half castes, of which the first four are Koitors, and the last half is an inferior offshoot of the fifth. The classes are named Raj Gond, Raghuwal, Dadave and Katulya, Padal, Dholi, Ojhyal, Thotyal, Koilabhutal, Koikopal, Koiam, Madyal, and the lower Padal. The first of these receive their

name from the fact that most of the families that have attained to royal power have sprung from them; they are widely spread over Nagpoor and Berar. They and the two next are generally cultivators; they eat with each other but do not intermarry. The Katulya is formed of those of the pure Koitors who have begun to conform to Hinduism, and even to Islam. One of them, the Raja of Deogarh, adopted Islam when on a visit to Aurangzib at Delhi, although few Gonds made the change at that time, in spite of pressure, compared with the Bheels. That Mohammedan Raja's descendants marry into pure Gond families, and one of them is the head and judge of the Nagpoor Gonds. The Padal class supply the bards, who sing and play, reciting the genealogies and exploits of the richer Gonds. The Dholis are so called from the drum which they play at marriages; they are the goat-herds and *accoucheurs* of both Hindus and Gonds. The Ojhyal are wandering fowlers and bards; their wives tattoo the arms of Hindu women.[1] The Thotyal devote themselves to the service of Mata, the smallpox goddess, dreaded by Hindus and Gonds alike; they make baskets, and their women sell simples and profess to cure the sick. The Koilabhutal supply dancing girls, and the Koikopal keep cows. The Madya are the wildest; every man goes about with a battle-axe, the only dress of the women is a bunch of leafy twigs fastened by a string round

[1] The marks are believed to go with them to heaven when their clothes cannot. They tattoo by first making the forms of a peacock, an antelope, and a dagger, with juice of Biwali and lamp-black, with four needles on the back of the thighs and legs. The operation is painful, and the patient is held down. When settlement officer of Nimar, the late Captain Forsyth used to hear dreadful screeches issuing from the villages, which his attendants attributed to some young Gondian being operated upon with the tattooing needle. It is done when the girl becomes marriageable. He adds that the morality of both sexes before marriage is open to comment; and some of the tribes adopt the precaution of shutting up all the marriageable young men at night in a bothy by themselves. Infidelity in the married state is, however, said to be very rare.



THE GONDS OF CENTRAL INDIA.

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the waist. The Koiams follow the old Turanian practice of carrying off the bride apparently by force.

The general characteristics of the Gonds are thus stated by Mr. Hislop :—

"*Personal appearance.*—They are about the middle size of natives, with features rather ugly, though among those living in Hindu villages I have seen a considerable approximation to the Hindu type of countenance. They have been said to possess curly hair; but this is a mistake.

"*Dress.*—The men seldom wear more than a piece of cloth around their waists (*dhoti*) and a small kerchief about their heads. The more civilised, in addition, throw a loose cloth over the upper part of their body. The women, besides a lower garment, which is tucked up so as to expose their thighs and legs, wear a *sádi* (cloth), which passes like a broad sash over the back, and is somewhat more spread out in front upon the chest. The men are fond of silver or brass chains round their ears and a narrow bangle at their wrists. The women tie up their hair into a knot behind, which, in the Bhandara district, they adorn with a profusion of red thread. Their ears above and below are decked with a variety of rings and pendants: chains of silver are suspended from their necks; big brass bangles, named sinum, enclose their wrists; and the backs of their thighs and legs are tattooed down to their ankles, on which they wear plated ornaments (*kharging*).

"*Living.*—They make two meals a day; their breakfast consisting generally of gruel, and their supper of some boiled coarse grain, with pulse and vegetables. Occasionally this routine is varied, when the chase or a religious festival has provided them with the flesh of deer, hog, goat, or fowls.[1] . . . When residing in the midst of a Hindu population, the Gonds inhabit mud houses; in the jungles the houses are of wattle and daub, with thatched roofs. The internal arrangements are of the simplest kind, comprising two apartments, separated from each other by a row of tall baskets, in which they store up their grain. Adjoining the house is a shed for buffaloes; and both house and shed are protected from wild beasts by a bambu fence. The villages are situated on table-lands, they seldom number more than ten houses, and more frequently contain only three or four. But, however

[1] At Nagpoor women at 9½ A.M. eat millet, bread, and dál (pea). Men eat at noon when released from work, and sup at 9½ P.M. on vegetables. Husband and wife do not dine together.

small the village may be, one house in it is sure to be the abode of a distiller of arrack. . . . In their own wilds the men increase their family's subsistence by hunting, in which their chief reliance is on their matchlocks, though in some of the more remote parts they kill their game with arrows, which most shoot in the common mode, but others in a sitting posture, their feet bending the bow, and both hands pulling the string. When they go out on such expeditions, and frequently at other times, they carry a small axe and knife for lopping off the branches that might obstruct their path.

"*Religion.*—Though the Gond pantheon includes somewhere about fifteen gods, yet I have never obtained from one individual the names of more than seven deities. These were Badu Dewa (the great god), who in other districts is called Budhal Pen (the old god), Matiya (devil or whirlwind), Sale, Gangara (little bells), or more properly Gagara, Palo, Gadawa, and Kham. Besides these I have heard at various times, the names of Kodo Pen, Pharsi Pen, and Bangaram; and the Rev. J. Phillips, who visited the Gonds at Amarkantak, mentions Hardal as the principal object of veneration there.

"What are the characters or offices of these deities, whose very names are so imperfectly known by their worshippers, it is vain to inquire from any native authority. It appears to me that Budhal Pen is the same as Bura Pen, the chief god among the Konds. Perhaps Hardal may be the synonym near the source of the Narbada. Matiya, I would suppose, is a name for the god of smallpox, who is also one of the Kond divinities, and may be identical with Bangaram, afterwards to be mentioned. Sale may probably be the god who presides over cattle-pens (Salo). Kuriya may denote the deity who takes care of the tribe (Kûl), or, as it is frequently mispronounced (Kûr). Kattarpar may correspond with the Katti Pen of the Konds, *i.e.* the god of ravines. Kodo Pen may signify the god who is believed to bless crops of grain, of which *Kodo* (*Paspulum frumentaceum*) among Gonds is one of the chief. The name of Pharsi Pen, who is represented by a small iron spear-head, may possibly be formed from Barchi, which in Hindi denotes a spear, on which hypothesis this deity would be the equivalent of the Kond Loha Pen, the iron god, or god of war.

"In the south of Bhandara district the traveller frequently meets with squared pieces of wood, each with a rude figure carved in front, set up somewhat close to each other. These represent Bangaram Bungara Bai, or Devi, who is said to have one sister and five brothers —the sister being styled Danteshwari, a name of Kali, and four out of

the five brothers being known as Gantaram, Champaram, and Naikaram, and Potlinga. These are all deemed to possess the power of sending disease and death upon men. The name of Bungara occurs among the Kôls of Chaibasa, where he is regarded as the god of fever, and is associated with Gohem, Chondu, Negra, and Dichali, who are considered, respectively, the gods of cholera, the itch, indigestion, and death. It has always appeared to me a question deserving more attention than it has yet received, how far the deities who preside over disease, or are held to be malevolent, are to be looked on as belonging to the Hindus or to the aborigines. Kali in her terrible aspect is certainly much more worshipped in Gondwana and the forest tracts to the east and south of it, than in any other part of India. As the goddess of smallpox she has attributed to her the characteristics of various aboriginal deities, and it is worthy of remark, that the parties who conduct the worship at her shrines, even on behalf of Hindus, may be either Gonds, fishermen, or members of certain other low castes. The sacrifices, too, in which she delights would well agree with the hypothesis of the aboriginal derivation of the main features of her character. At Chanda and Lanji, in the province of Nagpoor, there are temples dedicated to her honour, in which human victims have been offered almost within the memory of the present generation. The victim was taken to the temple after sunset and shut up within its dismal walls. In the morning, when the door was opened, he was found dead, much to the glory of the great goddess, who had shown her power by coming during the night and sucking his blood. No doubt there must have been some of her servants hid in the fane, whose business it was to prepare for her the horrid banquet. At Dantewada in Bastar, situated about sixty miles south-west of Jagdalpoor, near the junction of the Sankani and Dankani, tributaries of the Indrawati in Bastar, there is a famous shrine of Kali, under the name of Danteshwari. Here many a human head has been presented on her altar. About thirty years ago, it is said that upwards of twenty-five full-grown men were immolated on a single occasion by a late Raja of Bastar. Since then numerous complaints have reached the authorities at Nagpoor of the practice having been continued, though it is to be hoped that, with the annexation of the country, it has entirely and for ever ceased. The same bloody rite in the worship of Kali, as we learn from Major Macpherson, prevailed among the immediate predecessors of the present hill Rajas of Orissa.

"Whether Bhima, who by Hindus is esteemed one of their greatest heroes, is to be regarded as borrowed from that nation or lent to

them, it is difficult to say. One thing is certain that, under the name of Bhim Pen, or Bhimsen, his worship is spread over all parts of the country, from Berar to the extreme east of Bastar, and that among the rudest of the tribe. He is generally adored under the form of an unshapely stone covered with vermilion, or of two pieces of wood standing from three to four feet in length above the ground, like those set up in connection with Bangaram's worship. But, in addition to the deities generally acknowledged, there are many others who receive reverence in particular localities. It is the custom of the Gonds to propitiate, for at least one year, the spirits of their departed friends, even though they have been men of no note. But when an individual has been in any way distinguished,—if, for example, he has founded a village, or been its headman or priest,—then he is treated as a god for years, or it may be generations, and a small shrine of earth is erected to his memory, at which sacrifices are annually offered.

"It has been stated that the Gonds have no idols. It is true they have no images in their dwellings, but at the scene of their religious ceremonies in the jungle there are for the most part some objects set up, either iron rods, stones, pieces of wood, or little knobs of mud, to represent their deities. Among these, when there is a number together, the representation of the 'great god' usually occupies the chief place. Though one of their deities is styled the 'great god,' yet they hold that this chief of their divinities is to be distinguished from the Invisible Creator and Preserver of the world, to whom, in imitation of the Hindu agricultural population, they give the name of Bhagawan. According to this view their 'great god' is only the first of their inferior gods, who are all looked on as a sort of media of communication in various departments between God and man, though, as is the case in every form of polytheism, the near, or visible inferior, receives more attention than the unseen Supreme.

"*Worship.*—The Creator is occasionally adored in their houses by offering prayers, and by burning sugar (*gul*) and clarified butter in the fire. The public worship of these forest tribes seems to be connected with their crops. In places, where rice is produced, there are three great days, when they leave their villages, and proceed to worship under the shade of a Saj or Ein tree (*Pentaptera tomentosa*)—1st, the day when rice begins to be sown; 2d, when the new rice is ready; and 3d, when the Mhowa tree comes into flower. In the wilder villages, near the Mahadewa Hills, Kodo Pen is worshipped at a small heap of stones by every new-comer, through the oldest resident, with

fowls, eggs, grain, and a few copper coins, which become the property of the officiating priest. Bhimsen, who is there regarded as the god of rain, has a festival of four or five days' duration held in his honour at the end of the monsoon, when two poles about twenty feet high, and five feet apart, are set up with a rope attached to the top, by means of which the boys of the village climb up and then slide down the pole. The same offerings are presented to this god as to Kodo Pen, with the exception of the money.

"*Birth.*—A woman remains apart for thirteen days. On the fifth day after the birth the female neighbours are feasted: on the twelfth the male friends are similarly entertained: and on the thirteenth the purification is ended by giving a dinner to both parties. The child is named a month or two later.

"*Marriage.*—The expediency of a marriage is occasionally determined by omens. A vessel is filled with water, into which is gently dropped a grain of rice or wheat, in the name of the respective parties, at opposite sides of the vessel. If these approach each other the union will be a happy one, and the marriage day is fixed. Another way of settling the question is to consult some man with a reputation for sanctity, who sits and rolls his head till he appears furious, when, under supposed inspiration, he gives the answer. But frequently the matter is determined by personal negotiation between the fathers, who call in some neutral parties to name the sum that should be paid for the bride. This obligation is discharged on the day of the betrothal, along with a present of such things as are necessary for feasting the friends assembled at the bride's father's house on that occasion. On the day fixed for the commencement of the marriage ceremonies the bridegroom and his father go to the father-in-law's house with presents, which contribute again to the entertainment of the guests. Next day an arbour is constructed at the bridegroom's house, to which the bride is taken, and a dinner is provided. The day following, the two young people, after running round the pole seven times, retire to the arbour and have their feet washed. Pice (copper coins) are waved round their heads, and given to the musicians, when the ceremonies are concluded by a feast.

"*Funeral rites.*—The relatives of a deceased person are unclean for a day. The ceremonial impurity is removed by bathing. Some time after the occurrence of a death a sort of low square mound is raised over the remains[1] of the deceased, at the corners of which are erected

[1] They are buried at Kolitmara naked, as unmarried Kooroos are burned naked, with face upwards, and leaf of Rui (*Calotropis gigantea*) or Palas tree,

wooden posts, around which thread is wound, and a stone is set up in the centre. Here offerings are presented, as in the jungle worship of their deities, of rice and other grains, eggs, fowls, or sheep. On one occasion, after the establishment of the Maratha government in Gondwana, a cow was sacrificed to the *manes* of a Gond; but this having come to the hearing of the authorities, the relatives were publicly whipped, and all were interdicted from such an act again. To persons of more than usual reputation for sanctity, offerings continue to be presented annually for many years after their decease. In the district of Bhandara large collections of rude earthenware, in the shape of horses, may be seen, which have accumulated from year to year at the tombs of such men.

"*Priesthood.*—There is scarcely an institution among the Gonds that may properly be called priesthood; marriage, and such like ceremonies, being for the most part performed by some aged relative. There are, however, some men who, from supposed superior powers, or in consequence of their hereditary connection with a sacred spot, are held to be entitled to take the lead in worship. These men are named Bhumuks, Pujaris, etc. About the Mahadewa Hills the higher Pardhans act as Pujaris, and the lower as rude musicians: the Koitors seem to look down upon both offices as somewhat menial. But in other districts the last mentioned class appear rather to take the lead as holy men, and many of them make use of their supposed sacred character to impose on their simpler neighbours. They profess to be able to call tigers from jungles, to seize them by the ears, and control their voracity by whispering to them a command not to come near their villages. Or they pretend to know a particular kind of root, by burying which they can prevent the beasts of the forests from devouring men or cattle. With the same view, they lay on the pathway small models of bedsteads, etc., which are believed to act as charms to stop their advance. They are supposed to have the power of detecting sorcery,[1] which is greatly dreaded, and, like the gipsies in Europe, they are consulted by their more civilised neighbours on the fortunes of the future, which they read in the lines of their applicant's hand.

The Gáiti Gonds call themselves also Koitors, and are as much Gonds in language and everything else as those who are known by no

in the jungle, the head south and the feet north. Sometimes they burn the house of the deceased and desert it.

[1] In Pondakol magicians are burned: three were so treated at Pipulpanka in 1834-35.—*Calcutta Review*, vol. v., p. 53.

other name. Their chief peculiarity, which I have not found among common Gonds, though it may exist even among them, is to have in each village a separate tenement set apart for the occupancy of unmarried men during the night. This they call a *gotalghar* (empty bed house). In some villages there is a like provision made for the unmarried Gáiti women. When the Gáitis have returned in the evening from their work in the jungle, where they are very industrious in cultivation and cutting timber, all the families go to their respective houses for their supper; after which the young men retire to their common dwelling, where, around a blazing fire, they dance for an hour or two, each having a small drum suspended in front from his waist, which he beats as he moves about, while the young women sit at no great distance accompanying the performance with a song.

Mr. Hislop established the identity of the Kûrs or Kuls with the Kôls of the north-eastern stock, but up to his time confounded with the Gonds. The Kûrs are found on the Mahadewa Hills, and westward in the forests on the Tapti and Narbada, until they come into contact with the Bheels. On the Mahadewa Hills, where they have been much influenced by the Hindus, they prefer the name of Muasi, probably derived from the Mhowa tree. Their food is of the most meagre kind. Though they have no objection to animal food, yet a considerable portion of their diet consists of a gruel made from the pounded kernels of mangoes and flowers of the Mhowa tree. They adore the sun and moon, rude representations of which they carve on wooden pillars.[1] After reaping their crops they sacrifice to Sultan Sakada, whom they suppose to have been some king among them in former times. Like Jacob of old, a Kûr bridegroom, in the absence of the money demanded for his bride, comes under an obligation so serve his father-in-law for a certain number of years. The marriage ceremonial, which, like that

[1] According to Mr. Bullock, wooden pillars, with horse, sun, and moon, are set up before the house of married people. The Scythian origin of Kûrs and of Gonds might perhaps be inferred from Kodo Pen, and earthen horses, which are offered instead of living sacrifice. Gonds do not use horses or ponies much.

of the Gonds, includes the tying of garments together and the running round a pole or Mhowa tree, concludes on the third day with a feast and dance; during which the newly-married pair are carried about for some time on the backs of two of the company. In some cases the dead are burned; but, for the most part, they are interred with their head towards the south. Near their villages they have a place appointed for burials, where, after having offered a goat to the *manes* of the deceased, they set up a rude representation of him in wood about two feet above the ground.

The eleven vocabularies which Mr. Hislop collected from the dialects of the aboriginal tribes of Central India show the closest similarity, among these, of the subdivisions of Gonds, and prove their derivation from the distant Tamil rather than from the neighbouring Telugu branch of the Dravidian languages. The Kolam and Naikude Gond dialects and that of the wandering Keikadi tribe bear traces of the modifying influence of the Telugu, but are also at their roots of Tamil origin. The affinities of the Kûr and Kôl tongues are found at the foot of the north-east Himalayas, and still more among the Môns of Pegu, and the Benwas, described by Captain Newbold, inhabiting the mountainous regions of the Malayan peninsula. Thus the word for water in the language of the Kûrs and Kôls is *dâ;* among the Bodos, Cachâris and Kookis in the north-east of India, is *doi, di, tui;* among the Karens and Môns in Burma, is *ti* and *dat;* and among the Benwas of Malacca, *di.* Again, the word for eye among the Kûrs and Kôls—*med* or *met*—is among the Kookis and Mikurs in north-eastern India, *met* and *mek;* among the Karens and Môns, *me* and *mot;* and among the Benwas, *med* The first three numerals, which among the Kûrs and Kôls are *miâ, bárâ, ápiâ,* are among the Môns, *mue, bâ,* and *pâi* May we not conclude then, wrote Hislop, that while the stream of Dravidian population, as evidenced by the Brahuis

in Baloochistan, entered India by the north-west, that of the Kôl family seems to have found admission by the north-east; and as the one flowed south towards Cape Comorin, and the other in the same direction towards Cape Romania, a part of each appears to have met and crossed in Central India?

Mr. Hislop was cut off before he could prepare a grammar of the Gondi language. Among his papers Sir Richard Temple found a printed copy of the narrative of a second visit to the Gonds of the Narbada territory by the Rev. J. G. Driberg and the Rev. H. J. Harrison in 1849, to which was appended a grammar and vocabulary of their language. Doubtless he intended to compare, or may have actually compared, that vocabulary with his manuscripts. But there is no record of such comparison to be found. The comparison has since been made and possesses much interest, inasmuch as the Gonds whom Mr. Driberg met were those inhabiting the outskirts of the Narbada valley to the north of, or on the northern face of the Satpoora, or Pachmari, or Mahadewa Hills; whereas the Gonds whom Mr. Hislop met were those dwelling to the south of the range, and separated by mountain barriers from their northern brethren. Some words given in one vocabulary are not found in the other; but, on the whole, that by Mr. Hislop is much the more complete and copious of the two.

If to the student of philology and ethnology the Gond vocabularies and treatise of Stephen Hislop have a peculiar value, which every attempt to Christianise and civilise the million of simple aborigines reveals, his rendering of their five Songs of Lingo, which make up one Edda, is the earliest and most interesting contribution to the Folk-lore of India. It has a double interest from what an expert like the late Captain Forsyth considered to be its singular resemblance in many respects to the legend of Hiawatha, the prophet of the Red Indians of North America. Mr. Schoolcraft took that

tradition down, in its Iroquois form, from the mouth of an Onondaga chief, just as Hislop wrote and translated the Lingo ballads from the lips of the Gond *pardhan* or bard-priest at Nagpoor. Longfellow, in *The Song of Hiawatha*, has glorified the Iroquois and other traditions of the golden age of a noble race whom the Christianity of Christ reached almost too late to save them from the Christianity of a corrupt Christendom. To bring out the parallelism, Captain Forsyth has turned the literal, and therefore scientific, version of Hislop into a paraphrase in the metre and style of Longfellow. The scene of the creation of the Gonds by the invisible God, who is represented even in India by no idol, is the snowy peak of Dhawalagiri, the third loftiest of the main Himalayas, towering above Nepal; the action of the poem is transferred from their settlement to "the midst of twelve hills in the glens of seven hills," which describes the Satpoora ravines and plains. The scene of the incarnation of the Ojibway prophet lies on the southern shore of Lake Superior, in the region between the Pictured Rocks and the Grand Sable.

The legend of Lingo is undoubtedly of purely Gond or Dravidian origin, coloured in the course of its oral transmission from generation to generation of *pardhan* bards, by priestly self-seeking and Hindu influence. We find common to the Mongolian races, according to D'Herbelot, the story of a hero who delivered their progenitors from a cave in an iron-bound valley, and to that cave the ruler goes every year to offer grateful sacrifice. The argument of the legend of Lingo, the "wolf" of Kachikopa Lohagad, or "the iron valley in the red hill" as in the version reduced to writing from the Gond Homer of Nagpoor, is this: The land of the Gonds had become a solitude, over which there brooded silence so utter that there was not a crow even when "caw" was heard, nor a bird even when "chirp" was

heard, nor a tiger even when "raghum" was roared. Parwatee, the "mountaineer" daughter of the Himalayas, had loved the Gonds and besought her husband, Mahadewa (Siva), for them. He performed *tap* to win merit from the creator of gods and men, when from a boil on his hand there sprang the god Kalia Addo, and from his hand, after like devotion, sixteen daughters came. Thrown into water, which dried up, these became sixteen sorts of earth, from which "twelve threshing-floors of Gondi gods were born," or the pure Gonds. They crowded the jungle, they ate all animals, and they did not wash, till the smell forced Mahadewa to shut them up in a cave. Four brothers escaped to tell Parwatee, who for six months gave the invisible God no peace, by her devotion, till he declared, "I will make the Gonds visible."

So he caused Lingo to be produced from a flower, and fed on honey that dropped from a fig tree. At nine years of age the miraculous boy met the four Gond brothers in the forest. He taught them to clear the woodlands for their broadcast cultivation. They killed the deer but had no fire to roast the flesh. So Lingo sent them to the giant Rikad, who had an old wife and seven daughters. As they slept, the youngest brother stole the fire but dropped it on the giant, who gave chase. But Lingo came with his lute, another Orpheus, and so played that the old giant and his wife danced with delight and gave up their seven daughters to the four Gonds of the forest. As a saint he refused their advances to himself, and, like Potiphar's wife, they accused him to their husbands, who slew him and played at marbles with his eyeballs. God, however, restored Lingo to life; after Hercules-like labours he obtained the release of the Gonds shut up in the cave, he settled them in the Satpoora forests as an orderly community, and he set the most venerable over them as their first *pardhan*, who performed the rites of marriage as at the present day. He taught them the

joyous gospel of hospitality and singing, drinking and dancing. Damè, the tortoise, had saved them on his broad back from Pusè, the alligator, who would have destroyed them in the flooded river, and he charged them never to forget the promise to be faithful to Damè.

"Then they all made salutation. Lingo said, 'Oh, brethren, look yonder towards the gods.'
All looked behind, but Lingo vanished and went to the gods
While they were looking behind, they said: 'Where is our Lingo gone?'"

We shall quote the second and fourth of the Lays, which describe what the Arthurian poets would call "The Coming" and "The Passing of Lingo." The name is purely Gond, and to it the people affix sometimes *Bhân* or "the devotee," and sometimes *Pariûr* or "the saint."

The Coming of Lingo the Holy.

(*Hislop's Literal Version.*)

"Then care fell to Bhagawán (god). There was a tree:
It was blossoming. Then said he, One of its flowers shall conceive.
By God's doing clouds and winds were loosed. A cloud like
A fan arose: thunder roared and lightning flashed;
The flower burst, clouds opened and darkness fell; the day was hid.
A heap of turmeric fell at the fourth watch of the night.
In the morning, when clouds resounded with thunder, the flower opened
And burst, and Lingo was born, and he sprang and fell into the heap of turmeric.
Then the clouds cleared, and at the dawn Lingo began to cry.
Thereat, care fell upon God; the (face of Lingo) began to dry amidst the powder.
But by God's doing there was a Ficus tree, on which was honey—
The honey burst, and a small drop fell into his mouth.
Thus the juice continued to fall, and his mouth began to suck.
It was noon, and wind blew, when Lingo began to grow.
He leapt into a swing, and began to swing when day was set.

Lingo arose with haste, and sat in a cradle swinging.
Lingo was a perfect man: water may be stained, but he had no stain whatever.
There was a diamond on his navel and sandal-wood mark on his forehead. He was a divine Saint. He became two years old.
He played in turmeric, and slept in a swing. Thus days rolled away,
He became nine years old; he was ordered not to eat anything from off the jungle trees or thickets.
Lingo, in his mind, said, Here is no person to be seen; man does not appear, neither are there any animals;
There appears none like me; I will go where I can see some one like myself.
Having said so, one day he arose and went on straight.
He ascended a needle-like hill; there he saw a Mundita tree;
Below was a tree named Kidsadita: it blossomed.
He went thither, and having seen flowers he smelled them.
He went a little beyond, upon a precipitous hill, and climbed a tree.
Then he looked around and saw smoke arising from Kachikopa Lohagad.
What is this? said he; I must go and see it.
He ascended, and saw the smoke. The four brothers quickly brought their game, and began to roast it; they began to eat it raw or cooked.
In the meantime Lingo went there. They saw him and stood up; he stood also;
Neither spoke to the other. The four then began to say within themselves,
We are four brothers, and he will be the fifth brother. Let us call him."

The episode of the Giant and his Seven Daughters may be told most briefly in the paraphrase of Forsyth, although he admits that he turns the quiet humour that lurks in Mr. Hislop's literal translation into burlesque :—

"Then said Lingo, 'Search ye, Brethren,
For a firebox in your waistbelts.'
Flints and steel they forthwith brought out,
Struck a spark among the tinder,
But the tinder would not burn.
Thus the whole night long they tried it,
Tried in vain until the morning,
When they flung away the tinder.
And to Lingo said, 'O Brother,

You're a prophet, can you tell us
Why we cannot light this tinder?'
Answered Lingo, 'Three *coss* onward
Lives the Giant Rikad Gowree,
He the very dreadful Monster,
He the terrible Devourer.
In his field a fire is smoking;
Thither go and fetch a firebrand.'
Then the Brothers went a little,
Went a very little, onwards;
Thence returned, and said to Lingo—
'Nowhere saw we Rikad Gowree,
Nowhere have we found this Giant.'
Then said Lingo, 'Lo my arrow,
By its pathway see ye follow.'
Then he fitted to his bowstring
Shaft of bulrush straight and slender;
Shot it through the forest thickets,
Shot it cleaving through the branches,
Shot it shearing all the grass down;
Cut a pathway straight and easy;
Fell it right into the fireplace
Of the Giant Rikad Gowree;
Fell, and glanced it from the fireplace,
Glanced, and sped into the doorway
Of the wigwam of the Giant;
Fell before the seven daughters,
Seven very nice young women,
Daughters fair of Rikad Gowree.
Then those seven nice young women
Took the arrow and concealed it.
For they oft had asked the old man,
Asked him when they would be married;
And he always answered gruffly,
'When I choose that you be married
Good and well, if not you won't be.'
And they thought this was an omen.
Now the Brothers, greatly fearing
Lest they all should eaten up be,
Counsel taking, sent the youngest,
Sent Ahkeseral the youngest,
To prospect the Giant's quarters.
By that pathway straight and easy
Went this very young Ahkeseral;
Saw the Giant's smoke ascending;
Coming nearer saw the Giant.
Saw him, like a shapeless tree trunk,
Sleeping by the fire and snoring—
By the fire of mighty tree stems,
Stems of Mhowá, stems of Ánjan,
Stems of Sájná, stems of Téktá;
Blazing red, its glow reflected
From that form huge and shapeless
Of the Giant Rikad Gowree,
Of that very dreadful Rákshis,
Of that terrible Devourer.
Then his knees began to quake all,
O'er his body came cold shudders,
Leapt his liver to his throat all,
Leapt the liver of Ahkeseral.
But he crept up to the fireplace,
Crept and snatched a blazing firebrand,

Blazing brand of Támádítá.
Groaned the Giant, fled Ahkeseral,
Dropped the firebrand and a spark flew,
Flew and lighted on the Giant,
On his shapeless hip it lighted.
Raised a blister like a saucer;
Started up the Giant swearing;
Also feeling very hungry,
Feeling very much like eating.
Saw that very young Ahkeseral,
Plump and luscious as a cucumber,
Saw him running and ran after,
Ran and shouted loud behind him.
But in vain he followed after.
For the very young Ahkeseral,
Speeding swiftly through the forest,
Shortly vanished and was seen not.
And the Giant, much disgusted,
Then returnèd to his fireside.
And Ahkeseral, returning,
Told his greatly trembling brothers
Of that very dreadful Giant.
But the very valiant Lingo
Said, 'Repose ye here a little,
I will go and see this monster
That so much has discomposed you.'
At the crossing of a river,
In that straight and easy pathway,
Lingo saw the stick Wadúdá
Floating down upon the current.
Saw he too a bottle-gourd tree,
Saw it growing by the river;
Pulled a bottle-gourd from off it,
Fished Wadúdá from the river,
Stuck the one into the other,
Plucked two hairs wherewith to string it,
Made a bow and keys eleven,
Played a tune or two, and found he
Had a passable guitar.
Pleased was Lingo, and proceeded
To the field of Rikad Gowree;
Rikad Gowree lying snoring
By the fireside, mouth wide gaping,
Tushes horrible displaying,
Lying loglike with his eyes shut.
Close by grew the tree called Peepul,
Peepul tall with spreading branches.
Quickly Lingo clambered up it,
Climbed aloft into its branches;
Sat and heard the morning cock crow,
Thought this Giant soon would waken.
Then he took his banjo Jántur,
Struck a note that sounded sweetly,
Played a hundred tunes upon it.
Like a song its music sounded;
At its sound the trees were silent;
Stood the mighty hills enraptured.
Entered then that strain of music
In the ears of Rikad Gowree,
Quickly woke him from his slumber;
Rubbed his eyes and looked about him;
Looked in thickets, looked in hollows,
Looked in tree-tops; nothing finding,

Wondered where on earth it came from,
Came that strain of heavenly music,
Like the warbling of the Mainá.
Back returning to his fireside,
Sat down, stood up, sat down, stood up;
Listened, wondered at the music;
Jumped and danced he to the music,
Sung and danced he to the music;
Rolled and tumbled by the fireside
To the warbling of the music.
Soon at daybreak his old woman
Heard that strain of heavenly music;
Came she wondering to the fireside,
Saw her old man wildly dancing—
Hands outstretching, feet uplifting,
Head back reeling, dancing, tumbling,
To that strain of heavenly music.
Saw and wondered, saw and called out—
'Ancient husband, foolish old man!'
Looked he at her, nothing said he,
Danced and tumbled to the music,
Said she, listening to that music,
'I must dance too.' Then she opened
Loose the border of her garment,
Danced and tumbled to the music,
Then said Lingo, 'Lo my Jántur!
To thy strain of heavenly music
Dance this old man and his woman;
All my Koitor thus I teach will,
Thus in rows to sing and dance all,
At the feasting of the Gónd Gods
At the feast of the Dewálí,
At the feast of Búdhal Péná,
At the feast of Jungo Reytál,
At the feast of Phársá Péná—
Salutation to the Gods all
From this various tuneful Jántur!'
Then he ceased the wondrous music;
Hailed the old man from the tree-top,
Saying—'Uncle, Rikad Gowree,
See your nephew, on this tree-top!'
Then the Giant, looking upwards,
Saw our Lingo on the tree-top;
Called him down, shook hands, and said that
He was very glad to see him.
Asked him in and made him sit down;
Rang and called for pipes and coffee;
Apologised for having thought of
Making breakfast of Ahkeseral;
Thanked our Lingo very kindly
For his offer of the livers
Of those sixteen scores of Rohees;
In return proposed to give him
All those seven nice young women,
With their eyes bound, will they nill they,
To be wedded to the Brothers.

And those seven nice young women
When they heard about the young men,
Of those young men faint and fasting
Waiting fireless by the Rohees,
Forthwith packed they up their wardrobes,
On their heads they took their beds up,
Back to Lingo gave his arrow—
Arrow of the truthful omen—
Saying good-bye to their parent,
Followed Lingo to the forest,
To that forest-shade primeval.
Reached those young men by the Rohees,
Made a fire, and had some luncheon
Of the livers of the Rohees.
Then the Brothers 'gan to squabble
O'er those seven nice young women.
Holy Lingo, virtuous very,
Quite refusing to be wedded,
Somewhat easier made the problem;
And he soon arranged it this wise—
That the eldest of the Brethren
Each should take two nice young women,
While the very young Ahkeseral
Should be fitted with the odd one.
Then returning from the forest
By the valley Kachikopá,
To the Red Hills Lohagadá,
Holy Lingo joined the Brothers
To those seven nice young women,
To the daughters of the Giant.
Water brought and poured it o'er them,
Bowers of branches raised around them,
Garlands gay he threw about them,
Mark of Turmeric applied he—
And declared them duly wedded."

The Settlement of the Gonds, and Passing of Lingo.

"Then they rose and followed Lingo,
Followed onwards to the forest,
From the mountain Dhawalgirí;
Followed on till night descended,
And before them saw a river,
Dark and swollen with the torrent
Bursting down from Dhawalgirí,
From the snows of Dhawalgirí.
On that river nothing saw they,
Boat nor raft, to waft them over.
Nothing saw they in the torrent
But the Alligator Púsé,
And the River-Turtle Dámé
Playing, rolling, in the water.
Then our Lingo called them to him,
Called them brother, called them mother;
Bound with oaths to bear them over.

And the Alligator Púsé,
Looming long upon the water,
Bore the Gónds into the torrent,
Through the black and roaring water:
And the River-Turtle Dámé
With our Lingo followed after.
Soon the faithless Alligator,
In the deep and roaring water,
Slipping from below his cargo,
Left them floundering in the water.
Then our Lingo stretched his hand out,
Fished them out upon the Turtle;
Faithful Dámé bore them onward
O'er that black and roaring torrent,
Bore them on across the river.
And the Sixteen vowed to cherish
Name of Dámé with them ever,
Who had borne them safe and hurtless
O'er that dark and foaming river.
Then they travelled through the forest,
Over mountain, over valley,
To the Glens of Seven Mountains,
To the Twelve Hills in the Valleys.
There remained with Holy Lingo.
He, the very wise and prudent,
Taught to clear the forest thickets,
Taught to rear the stately millet,
Taught to yoke the sturdy oxen,
Taught to build the roomy waggon,
Raised a city, raised Nárbúmí;
City fenced in from the forest.
Made a market in Nárbúmí.
Rich and prosperous grew Nárbúmí—
So they flourished and remainèd.
Then our Lingo called them round him,
Ranged them all in rows beside him,
Spake in this wise—'Hear, O Brethren!
Nothing know ye of your fathers,
Of your mothers, of your brothers,
Whom to laugh with, whom to marry;
Meet it is not ye should be so
Like the creatures of the forest.'
Then he chose them from each other,
Chose and named their tribes distinctive;
Chose the first and said, 'Manwajjá.'
Thus began the tribe Manwajjá.
By the hand took Dáhakwálí,
Bard he called him 'Dáhakwálí.'
Koilabútal named another,
And another Koikobútal—
Koikobútal wild and tameless.
Thus he named them as he chose them,

Till the Sixteen Scores were numbered,
Till the Tribes had all been chosen.
Next among them chose the eldest,
Chose an old man hoary-headed,
Chose and called his name 'Pardhánâ,'
Priest and Messenger he called him.
Called and sent him on a message
To the Red hills Lohagadâ,
The Iron Valley, Kachikopâ;
To those Brothers four he sent him,
Sent to ask them for their daughters
To be wedded to his Koitor—
Thus the Tribes our Lingo mated.
Thus they grew and multiplièd.
Then he chose them into houses,
Into families of seven,
Of six, of four, he chose them.
And he said, 'O Koitor listen!
Nowhere Gods of Gónds are worshipped;
Let us make us Gods and worship.'
Then made Ghagará the Bell-God,
Made and gave he to Manwajjâ.
Brought the Wild Bull's Tail and named it
Cháwardeo; brought the War God—
God of Iron, Phársâ Péná;
Manko Reytál, Jango Reytál—
Thus their tribal Gods he fashioned.
Taught them how to raise their altars;
Taught to offer sacrifices—
Hoary goats, white cocks a year old,
Virgin cows, and juice of mhowa;
Taught to praise with voice and psalter,
Twang of Jántur, sound of drumming—
Drum of Beejásál resounding—
Dancing, singing, by the altars,
Thus he taught them, Holy Lingo;
And his last words then he uttered—
'Keep your promise to the Turtle,
To the River-Turtle Dámê;
To the Gods I now am going.'
Then he melted from their vision;
And they strained their eyes to see him.
But he vanished, and was seen not."

The whole poem is a picture of the present beliefs and life of the Western Gonds of Central India. All they can tell of their fathers is that they were mountain-born, with the Himalaya nymph Parwatee for their goddess, that dread

wife of Siva, whom as the black Kali the Hindus adopted into their pantheon that they might drag in them also as worshippers. Hence the forty thousand pilgrims whom, when he first mapped the land, Hislop found, and who may be seen every year towards the end of February, at Shiva's shrine in the cave in the Mahadewa Hills, where the tiger alone now seizes the human victims such as used to be slaughtered before the obscene emblem. All they can tell of themselves, unconsciously enough, is that the Satpoora range is their home, where their songs show us how they settle in the forests and open a weekly bazaar in central hamlets which they call Narbumi, where they sell the rice and then the millet (*jowari*) Lingo taught them to sow. First they cut down trees, and burn them for ashes, which fertilises the ground, and makes it yield, from seed sown without ploughing or other agricultural operation. As they advance they begin to cultivate with bullocks and ploughs; and then, as their villages improve, they use carts to carry grain to market, and especially to convey the wild fruits and other produce of the jungles. These several stages of progress are visible to this day among the Gonds.

The revealing of this primitive million of people to literature and science was begun by Mr. Hislop as a Christian missionary. Mr. Stothert established a school among them at his own expense; afterwards, supported by Mrs. Mure Macredie of Perceton, Ayrshire, Baba Pandurang made Chindwara his headquarters, teaching them to read the Word of God. Hislop ever used the dim legend of the incarnation, described as

> "A perfect man,
> Stainless all and pure was Lingo,"

to attract them to Him who was holy, harmless, undefiled, and separate from sinners. St. Paul had quoted their own poet-prophets to proud Athenian and filthy Cretan. But

others were to enter into Hislop's labours after the regeneration of the truthful Gonds. In 1866, armed with his predecessor's writings, the Rev. James Dawson reopened the mission to the Gonds at Chindwara, and gave the people the three first Gospels and the Book of Genesis in their own language, before he too was removed by death, and the mission was made over to the Swedish Society. In 1879 the Church Missionary Society took possession of the Gond country to the east, from Mandla as a centre to the old Gossner station near Amarkantak, and found their first convert in a Gond ascetic, who has not ceased to be reverenced by his countrymen when he leads them to the true incarnation. Already the first generation have learned to read and eagerly purchase Bible portions and literature. For those who cannot read the exhibition of Bible scenes and characters by the lantern supplies a vivid education, crowds hurrying from distant villages and sitting far into the night to hear in their own tongue the revelation of divine love, purity, and strength in Jesus Christ, who makes the poorest and the vilest a new creation. The Gonds have not yet entered the Kingdom in thousands, like the Kôls and Santals since the Mutiny, but since Hislop's day too few missionaries have sought to evangelise them.

Was there a still earlier race, Scythian, Celtic, or whatever it may be called, which settled in North-Western and Central India before even the Gonds who were its latest wave? Did these earlier nomads, or the Dravidians, thirty millions of whose descendants now cover the hills of Central and South India, pile up the monoliths and dolmens, raise the cairns and barrows, form for their dead the cromlechs and kistvaens, which, as they cover large districts of the jungle lands of India, are precisely similar to the prehistoric remains of Brittany, Northumbria, and Scotland? As at once an ethnologist and geologist this question forced itself on

Stephen Hislop when he stumbled on such erections in his missionary and scientific tours. His experience of them began so early as 1847; it was after a day largely spent in studying them that he was cut off in 1863, before he could record the conclusions of his seventeen years' research.

Takalghat is a prettily-wooded rural village in the district of Nagpoor, twenty miles south of the city. There, in December 1847, the missionary tents were pitched for the first time. In the brief Indian twilight Hislop's practised eye at once noted the old mounds around the comparatively new village, and especially marked a circle of unhewn stones of the rudest type. But it was not till the tour of 1849-50 that it was found there are ninety such circles, single and double, spreading over an area of four square miles. The Raja at Nagpoor had given permission for excavations to be made among the circles, but the village headman disbelieved this and refused to supply paid labour. The missionaries and native Christians, accordingly, themselves took spades and carried out the digging. In the centre of the largest circle, at a depth of three feet from the surface, there was found "an iron vessel like a frying-pan, with a handle on either side, which had rusted off and was lying detached. The bottom of the vessel was covered with little pieces of earthenware neatly fitted to each other, possibly designed to protect human ashes, of which, however, there were only doubtful traces beneath." Such is the description given by Mr. Hunter. Fragments of pottery and flint arrow-heads were also found. When Nagpoor State became a British province, the Chief Commissioner invited Hislop to guide him in a careful study of the stone circles, and several were marked off for excavation on the next day, the missionary's last as it proved. They superintended the digging and carefully arranged the various articles of iron and pottery that were exhumed by natives working under an

European. Hislop came to the conclusion that all the circles and tumuli were the burial places and tombs of what must have been a large population, for in each circle at least one person or perhaps several had been interred, some bodies having been burned, some buried. Standing on the highest mound from which the various rows and cross rows of the stone circles were seen extending over the plain, Stephen Hislop descanted on the character, habits, and institutions of the people who had raised or arranged the so-called Druidical[1] circles.

By following the old high road which passes through Takalghat from Nagpoor, we reach Haidarabad city, and then, to the south-east, the grim capital of the Hindu State of Shorapoor, which, on its confiscation for treason, we presented to the Nizam. When administering that state, Captain Meadows Taylor, in 1850, was told by the natives of certain "Mori-munni," the Kanarese name for the houses of the Mories, described as a dwarf race of great strength who had dwelt there in very remote ages. He found, half a mile from the village of Rajankolloor, two large groups of cromlechs and cairns on rocky land sloping gently to the south. He surveyed the groups, opened some of the cairns and cists, drew the whole to scale, and submitted the results to the Royal Irish Academy, in whose Transactions for 1865 they will be found, along with the record of an examination of the Northumbrian cairns on Twizell Moor, which are exactly similar in construction and contents. These results, with the clear illustrations, may be taken as true of Takalghat also, except that skulls and headless skeletons believed to show traces of human sacrifice, were not found by Hislop.

Sir George Yule, when Resident at Haidarabad afterwards,

[1] In his Hibbert Lectures on *Celtic Heathendom* (1888) Professor Rhys marks the latest advance of critical inquiry in the anti-Druidical direction, and skilfully tracks the Celtic Hiawatha through the many forms in which the national culture hero appears.

opened several cairns there, and at Andola, Narkailpali, and elsewhere, revealing similar remains, with bones of horses, cattle, and dogs. Indeed, at a much earlier period, his accomplished brother, Colonel Yule, R.E., discussed, in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*, the stone erections of the Kasias of Assam, of which the first to give an account was Mr. H. Walters, who visited Cherra in 1828. In 1847 Captain H. Congreve and Rev. W. Taylor contributed two remarkable papers to the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* on the abundant pre-historic stones of the Neelgiri hills, especially at Achenni, three miles east of Kotagiri. Dr. Buist, an authority equally on Scottish and Indian archæology, observed that two torques or silver collars found in the tumulus of Norres Law, in the south of Fife, are in shape, size, and appearance identical with those worn by children in Bombay, except that they open in front instead of behind.[1] The discovery on the Jabalpoor line of railway, in 1860, of the flint arrow-heads called celts, which the English peasant believes to be elf-arrows and the Indian ryot sets up as gods under every green tree, led him to the same conclusion[2] as Hislop and Caldwell,[3] that the aborigines of India and the Tamil and Telugu peoples were unquestionably demonolaters or Shamanites, like the majority of the ancient Scythian tribes of Upper Asia. To complete the inquiry, reference should be made to the full and able work on *The Early Races of Scotland and their Monuments*,[4] by Lieutenant-Colonel Forbes Leslie, which generalises with scientific caution and skill the facts known up to 1865 regarding these prehistoric remains in all parts of the Indian Peninsula, Western Europe, and the intermediate countries of Asia and Africa.

[1] See article by the late Dr. Norman Chevers, in the *Calcutta Review*, vol. xxvi. (1856), on the Arian Race.

[2] See *Friend of India* for 5th July 1860.

[3] Caldwell's *Dravidian Comparative Grammar*.

[4] Edinburgh : Edmonston and Douglas, 1865.

The latest view of the anthropological and geological data is that of Professor Prestwich, which he describes as a preliminary attempt not to define with precision, but rather to reduce to narrower limits, the Glacial, Palæolithic, and Neolithic periods.[1] On all sides, Pleistocene Geology, Historical research, and Old Testament exegesis, are yet in their early stages. All, and especially the last, have, singly and combined, made splendid contributions to ascertained truth, and are stimulating the study of divine revelation. They have won their early triumphs even since Hislop's time. How much he might have contributed to these, had he been spared till now, may be imagined from his discoveries as the pioneer geologist and naturalist of Central India.

[1] In vol. ii. (Clarendon Press, 1888) of his *Geology, Physical and Stratigraphical*, the Oxford Professor of Geology writes: "Palæolithic Man in North-Western Europe disappeared with the valley gravels. With the alluvial and peat beds Neolithic Man appeared after an unascertained, but clearly not very long interval, geologically speaking. In Europe we are unable to carry his presence beyond a period of from 2000 to 3000 years B.C. But already in Egypt and in parts of Asia it is proved that civilised communities and large States flourished before 4000 B.C. Civilised man must therefore have had a far higher antiquity in those countries, and probably in Southern Asia, than these 4000 to 5000 years; so that, comparing Europe and Asia, it is possible that the two periods may have overlapped, and that while Man had advanced and flourished in a civilised state in the East, he may in the West have been in one of his later Palæolithic stages."

CHAPTER VIII

AN ANGLO-INDIAN NATURALIST

Hislop as an Indian geologist—Victor Jacquemont—Captain Newbold—Hislop first the missionary, then the naturalist—Geology to him what Botany was to Carey—Rev. Robert Hunter a like-minded naturalist—Their evening walk in 1851 and its results—The first fossil harvest despatched to the Geological Society of London—Entomology—A naturalist's letters—A geological lecture and a military ball—Recent upheaval of Indian chains of mountains—The tertiary shells of Madras—Hislop's numerous papers published by learned societies—Summary of his geological labours by Rupert Jones—Hislop's geological map of Western Gondwana—His memoir on the geology of Nagpoor State—Sir Richard Owen and Mr. W. T. Blanford on his discoveries—Professor Haughton names two new minerals Hislopite and Hunterite—Hislop's mineralogical account of them—Importance to the State of his study of soils—The Regur or black soil—His name for ever associated with the Gondwana system—Picture of India in the age of the Mesozoic sandstones—Of the vast tertiary outbursts of trap—Hislop's Natural History journals—His correspondence with distinguished contemporary naturalists—Tribute to him by Mr. T. G. Medlicott and Dr. Oldham.

As an Indian geologist Hislop had only one predecessor, Victor Jacquemont, and one contemporary so far as original research is concerned, Captain Newbold. He was generous, as always, to the memory of Voysey and Malcolmson. A sketch by Mr. James Calder, in the *Asiatic Researches* for 1833, usefully summarises the little that was known at that time of the granite and gneiss of the Peninsular and Himalayan areas and of the overlying trap of Central and Western India; but is necessarily silent as to the sedimentary formations since described. Dr. Carter's summary brought the knowledge of the subject down to the time, 1851, when Lord

Dalhousie called into existence the Geological Survey of India under the late Dr. Oldham. It was not till 1856 that that accurate scholar organised the systematic exploration of the districts mapped by the Trigonometrical Survey, which has borne rich fruit for science and industry. The discoveries of Hislop, assisted afterwards by his inseparable colleague for a time, began in 1845 with almost the first walks which he took around Sitabaldi rock and outside Kamthi cantonment; and with the tour which, at the close of 1847, the missionaries made south to Chanda. The researches were extended from the Nagpoor district over the Gondwana system and the tertiary deposits associated with trap rock, laying bare numerous new species of plants, animals, and even minerals, and for the first time revealing the geological history and physical geography of Central India.

We linger for a moment at the now empty grave of Victor Jacquemont in the deserted cemetery at Bombay, whence his admiring countrymen have lately transferred his dust to their own land. Born in 1801, the favourite disciple of Cuvier and companion of Prosper Merimée, the young Frenchman was sent out in 1828 to India as travelling naturalist to the Paris Museum of Natural History. He won the regard of Lord and Lady William Bentinck and the leading Anglo-Indians of the day; he fascinated even Ranjeet Singh, who offered to make him governor of Kashmeer. He examined much of the North-Western Himalaya, and so gave himself to an exploration of the geology of Bombay and Salsette, that he perished after a brief and bright Indian career of three and a half years. His letters, written to his family and friends during his travels, and published in English under the title of *A Journey in India*, form most charming volumes. Mr. P. G. Hamerton does him only justice when he writes[1] that Victor Jacquemont "had all

[1] *Modern Frenchmen*, Five Biographies, by Philip Gilbert Hamerton, 1878.

the courages—the courage of the nerves which can retain perfect self-possession in danger; moral courage, which is not to be cowed by the ostentation of splendour and power; and the courage of the intellect, which will not be deterred by toil, and looks truth straight in the face." If "truth" be read in its highest meaning—which, as one of the school of Destutt de Tracy, his father's friend, Victor Jacquemont did not recognise—could any character better describe Stephen Hislop?

Writing to M. Elie de Beaumont in 1830 Jacquemont made merry over the amateur geologists of Bengal. "Geology is there very much in fashion. It is a science much cultivated in order to learn how to give a scientific name to the stones found on the road during a change of residence of garrison, and picked up and placed in the palanquin. If Mr. Pentland has found in Peru any mountains higher than the Himalaya I would not advise him to come to India. Your beautiful work on the relative periods of the elevation of mountains will be considered a personal insult by the geologists of Calcutta, their wives, their children, and their children's dolls. At Bombay I shall take good care not to say that I am a friend of yours." Captain Newbold, of the Madras Army, was the first to redeem the Anglo-Indians from this reproach. From his position as Assistant Resident at Karnool he personally explored the various formations of southern India, and described them with an accuracy to which the experts of the Geological Society, writing thirty-five years after, take only one exception—an error in the classification of the Gondwana system, which that officer had not visited. But that is the series of rocks which Hislop was at the same time exploring in detail. His journals, note-books, maps, and drawings by his own hand, form a collection of scientific materials which went to enrich the Transactions of the Geological, Asiatic, and other learned societies, and the

results of which have become a part of the sciences of geology, conchology, zoology, and botany.

Yet he was ever the missionary first, the naturalist after and along with the pursuit of his high calling. All through his correspondence there may be seen traces of the jealousy with which the evangelist, who desired to be, like his Master, ever about the Father's business, watched the tendency of his nature and his training towards a scientific study of what he called "the unintelligent works of God." Writing from Madras to his colleague, who had been ordered to seek rest from overwork in a rural tour, but evangelised none the less, he says: "I hope you have enjoyed your excursion, and that, under God, it has contributed to your restoration to health, and though not immediately yet indirectly and ultimately to the spiritual advantage of the poor Hindus. Did you get any large freshwater shells, of which Vira can tell you, and which, he said, come from about Bhandara? They seemed to be a species of *ampullaria*. I hope soon to hear all particulars both about the people and about the unintelligent works of God."

Long after, Dr. John Wilson, of Bombay, remarking that geology was to Hislop what botany had been to the venerable Dr. Carey, asked if their expenditure of talent and opportunity of action was justifiable in the case of a missionary, whose main business is with man needing the salvation of God. "This question, Mr. Hislop told me, he had often seriously put to himself, answering it in the affirmative. The study of the works of God, in their own measure, he found to be refreshing to his own mind, exhausted by other occupations, and nutritive of his own piety, feeling, as he must have done, that what is worthy of God to create is worthy of man to behold. For his ability and acquirements in natural history, he felt himself responsible, as for the other talents committed to his charge. In their use he found he could exercise a

beneficial influence on all his fellow-students of nature with whom he was privileged to associate and communicate. The results of his researches he found to be subservient to truth, and consequently glorifying to the God of truth. Some of them he used to explode local pretensions and superstitions of an injurious character."

By his wide culture, in a degree second only to the impelling power of his high calling, Hislop was further saved from the narrowness which marks exclusive scientists, especially when they become specialists or devote their life to a study which can be entirely detached from that of human nature in the region of religion or history or politics. What Mr. Hamerton remarks of Jacquemont in this respect is in a nobler degree true of Hislop, in so far as the latter did not shut out the highest pursuit of all,—both showed a fine curiosity of the purest kind about everything, and an openness on every side. Unconsciously Hislop attracted to himself, and in many cases won for his Master, the inquiring and intelligent officials of the East India services, who met him at first on common ground as naturalists, and were drawn by him irresistibly to the knowledge of Him whom to know is life eternal.

At first the young missionary began his Indian career by suspiciously discouraging not only his own naturalist tendencies but those of his entomological brother and correspondent. Towards the end of his first year's experience of India we find him writing to his brother: "I send you a sketch of a Brahman who acted as our pundit. . . . I have no time to draw now else I would endeavour to send you something worth your acceptance. Had I not greater, nobler, and more urgent work in hand I would make for you a drawing of everything that is strange in the appearance of the country, in objects of natural history, or in the arts, manners, and customs of the various classes of the native community. I have the inclination, but I trust I have a stronger desire

ever to glorify God by seeking the eternal welfare of perishing souls. What an undertaking for a weak man to be permitted to set his hand to. It requires, as it deserves, all his energies. I have, without spending time, collected a few insects for you. But not being a professed entomologist I would feel it unbecoming to carry about with me the necessary apparatus for catching them in a good state of preservation, and hence many of the specimens are deficient in legs, antennæ, etc., not to say that the wings of the lepidoptera have been rubbed and even torn. I send you a snake's skin as it fell from the ceiling of a neighbour's house."

The discovery of Tertiary fossil shells in Madras, already recorded, led Mr. Hislop, on his return to Nagpoor, to devote his little leisure and his regular tours to the systematic observation and record of geological phenomena. In this he was encouraged by Mr. Hunter, who also, up to 1851, had found his purely missionary duties too exacting. The latter had, when a student, held an appointment in Bermuda, then under the government of Sir William Reid, whose name is associated with the discovery of the law of storms. There, for two years, with sympathy and scientific aid from Sir Richard Owen, Sir William Hooker, and Sir William Reid, he had pursued natural history researches. On his appointment to Nagpoor Professor Owen had furnished him with a list of zoological desiderata which Central India might supply. But the missionaries were too sorely taxed in the three stations of Nagpoor, Kamthi, and Sitabaldi, and in Madras, to allow a moment's leisure even for the sake of health. Then the physician interfered, ordering Mr. Hunter to walk in the cool of the evening and to resume his observations as a naturalist, so as to give interest to his walks. One day, soon after Mr. Hislop's return from Madras, he asked his colleague to accompany him. "I am too busy," was the reply, but soon Mr. Hunter was overtaken, with the remark, "After all, I

will go with you." It was on that walk that Hislop made the discovery which he thus describes:—

"NAGPOOR, 26*th August* 1851.— . . . Mr. Hunter and I go to one or other of our schools every week day twice, with the exception of Saturday, when we take the afternoon to ourselves. Lately we have been devoting this unemployed portion of our time to walking. One Saturday afternoon, about three weeks ago, when we were rambling over a hill in the neighbourhood, we came upon a stone with fossils which we easily traced to its original site. The rock, of which it had formed a part, we ascertained to be a freshwater marly sandstone, embedded between trap rocks above and below. The fossils it contained were such as might be expected in such a deposit, viz., *Physa*, *Lymnea*, *Paludina*, etc. But, besides these freshwater shells, it enclosed the teeth and bones of animals, and above it were found fragments of silicified wood. One large trunk was standing in an erect position, but whether it occupied the place where it had grown I cannot tell, as we must go another day and lay it bare with a pick-axe and crowbar before we can determine the point. The formation which I have thus briefly referred to has been found in other parts of India, and described by Dr. Malcolmson in the London Geological Society's *Transactions;* but he did not find anything so decidedly osseous as to enable scientific men to pronounce on the mammalia that might be existing at that epoch. The fruit of our investigations will cast light on this subject. The formation is held to be equivalent to the Eocene of Europe. It is of no great extent in thickness. At most it is not above ten feet; and the upper layer, which is the only fossiliferous one and is generally separated from the rest by a sheet of amygdaloid, is only about six inches thick. The extent of the deposit over the country is, I think, considerable. I imagine it will be discovered in many localities between this and Bombay, which you may know is a region of trap. Don't suppose that I am given to geology or any natural science, though I like them. I feel it would be wrong to spend much time in the pursuit of mere worldly knowledge, when my work is to carry the word of eternal life to perishing souls. Mr. Hunter thought me very indifferent about botany and everything else when he came. Now he also has lost almost all his enthusiasm about those things, and we study natural history once a week chiefly as a means of taking exercise. I am sorry to say that symptoms of weakness in his lungs still appear occasionally, and, therefore, he is anxious for walking."

He trained, as a collector, a faithful convert, Virapa, who superintended the labours of natives less skilled than himself, and who was sent frequently to distant places rich in fossils. Seven months later we find the first harvest thus described, after a reference to Mr. Mansel, then the political Resident, in letters, the first to his brother, the second to Dr. Duns.

"NAGPOOR, 26*th March* 1852.— . . . Geology has been useful in getting up a friendly feeling between us, as I have on hand a large collection of interesting fossils, which it is the Resident's business to transmit free of expense to the Government Museum in Madras. The formations here, as I may have told you before, besides igneous rocks, *e.g.* granite, gneiss, and trap, are palæozoic, chiefly sandstone of the coal epoch, and Eocene tertiary, the latter being only about one or two feet thick with trap below and above. In the tertiary it is that we have discovered bones of quadrupeds, teeth, fish scales, elytra of beetles, dicotyledonous leaves and wood-grasses, reeds, palms, and some interesting fruits, one of which is very like a mulberry. In the palæozoic we have met with no animal exuviæ, but plenty stems of trees somewhat like the lepidodendron, calamites, etc. There is a new stem, which is called Vertebraria. A species of it has been found in India before, but I question whether it is known in Britain except by Professor Royle's description. The fronds, which were found first, are however still the most beautiful objects. I have a slab of sandstone 2 ft. × 1½ ft., which is just one imposing mass of petrifying impressions of *glossopteris*, one leaf going the whole length of the stem like a tall scolopendrium of modern times, and others lying beside it and across it. The only difference between the glossopteris and the scolopendrium is in the minute venation of the frond and the disposition of the fructification. In the latter it is linear, in the former in circles arranged in a row. I hope you are interested! After long hesitation I have determined to collect beetles for you, moved by the appeal in your last letter. I have killed and bottled one. The killing is the scandal, especially in this country where all life is reckoned the same. . . ."

"NAGPOOR, 10*th April* 1852.— . . . Since our return to Central India I have stumbled on a discovery connected with the geological formation of this district, which has afforded us appropriate relaxation and conveyed much innocent pleasure. It may seem strange to men-

tion this in a missionary narrative; however the discovery is by no means remotely allied to the main subject of this letter, as it has tended greatly to dispel prejudices that had been taken up against us by some, and even to enlist the goodwill of our present chief political authority in behalf of our operations. You ask for illustrations from India. When I send a box full of fossils to the Geological Society of London, and, as I trust, a package also for the collection of Natural History belonging to the Free Church New College, I may have an opportunity of sending one or two specimens to your address in return for the ruler made out of the Verter old alder tree, which you have kindly designed for me. . . ."

"NAGPOOR, 10*th January* 1853.— . . . To-day we send off our collection of minerals and fossils to London. These are intended to go round by the Cape, and will not reach their destination for six months. A small parcel as a sort of precursor we despatched a week ago by a more expeditious way, containing the choicest of the organic remains, which may arrive in London simultaneously with this. We send them to the care of J. C. Moore, Esq., Younger of Corswall, whom I knew in Wigtonshire, and who is now one of the secretaries to the Geological Society. He is a nephew of the celebrated Sir John. I may say, without the least vanity, that the two assortments taken together, next to those from the Tertiary of the Siwalik Hills and the Chalk of Pondicherry, constitute the finest ever sent home from India. Mr. Hunter and I have figured most of them, and when we return from the country, whither we are going in a few hours, we mean, D.V., to sit to a description of them, which may be delivered in London about the same time as the box forwarded *via* the Cape."

To the Rev. Robert Hunter.

"KAMTHI, 1*st April* 1853.

"MY DEAR BROTHER—The other day being dull in the afternoon I went across the river and found a fine *Pecopteris*—not merely with pinnulæ complete but with very fair pinnæ, also a *Cyclopteris*. The fossil riches are most abundant if they were only exposed."

"KAMTHI, 7*th April* 1853.— . . . Your impression of the structure altogether corresponds with my own, the only point which I wished established by your more perfect vision and more retentive memory

being the existence of the fine parallel line between the obvious ones that branched from the midrib. The *Tæniopteris* is very abundant here, but I have got no good specimen, as the workmen are not going on with the quarry which produces all the varieties. I just keep a coolie for the purpose of picking up any fragment he can find. Sometimes he brings in a small piece with a bit of a fern leaf on it, that makes me wish for more. Yesterday he brought a fragment that contained one or two seed-vessels with seeds arranged as in our so-named mulberry, only not in sixes, but in eights or nines. They do not lie together, as if they had at any time formed a compound fruit. There is one stalk connected apparently with the species of seed-vessels now referred to that seems to have borne either flowers or calices as if in a raceme. But it is little and will not bear description. There is one seed-vessel—a different kind very distinct. You would suppose it has had an involucre. I am glad to hear you are picking up some of the tertiary. We need some nowadays. . . . I would be obliged to you to copy out of Mantell's *Pictorial Atlas* what relates to the change of melons and cucumbers into fossils on Mount Carmel, as I should like to send it on to Bombay as illustration of Gidad."

To Robert Hislop.

"NAGPOOR, 8*th May* 1857.— . . . I read your poetical description of the opening spring with much pleasure, not unmixed perhaps with a little pain from the contrast of our own circumstances at the time of the perusal. While our imagination was occupied with the sprouting of the tender blade, and the caw of the callow young crows, we were in the midst of parched verdure, and surrounded by birds panting with the furnace-like heat. This kind of weather we may expect till the middle of next month, when the floods of the monsoon usually descend, and in a few days transform the landscape into a scene of joy. So may it ere long be with the people! May the Spirit be poured out from on high, and convert this dry and barren land into a pleasant and fruitful garden of the Lord!

"We have had some trials in the Mission of late. Satan seems to have been envious of our prosperity, and has led one of our recent converts into open sin, while he has introduced dissensions among some of the remainder. In these circumstances the anxiety falling upon the missionary is very great, and the hindrance to the work is still more to be deplored. There has been much smallpox around us this year,

and many children have died of it; but it has not been permitted to come nigh us. Vaccination seems to be no preventive of its attack in this country, though it may render it somewhat less fatal.

"I was not able to mix beetles and shells, as I had intended, in a small wafer-box that I transmitted lately to London by post. The coleoptera I hope to be able to despatch by next mail, which will be in a fortnight. I have got a large *Longicorn* similar to the largest formerly sent to you: but of course I will not be able to include it among the others, which are suited for transmission by their minuteness. Two of the best belong to two species of *Cassida*. The more common kinds, among which there must be many repetitions of former years, have been forwarded in sand in a tin box addressed to the care of T. Rupert Jones, Esq., Somerset House, London. . . .

"I was lately asked to deliver a lecture or two in Kamthi on Geology, and consented. However, the desire for instruction was feeble in the cantonment, and it would appear the European community could not be got together without the inducement of a dance as an afterpiece. The arrangement was concealed from me; and when I found that the first lecture, which was attended by all the fashionables of the place, was followed up by such an incongruity I declined to proceed. From this you may judge of the intellectual state of the majority of our countrymen and countrywomen. It must seem strange to you that people should be so fond of dancing as to practise it in a room where the atmosphere is 90° or so. . . ."

"NAGPOOR, *24th July* 1857.— . . . By last mail I despatched to you a few insects recent and ancient. The former are for your collection—the latter for your inspection and report, and ultimately for the Geological Society's Museum. The existing species I daresay are not very rare. I packed them in cotton to lighten the parcel, which the stony specimens were apt to render too heavy. I hope the experiment answered not amiss and the tarsi were not inextricably entangled in the fibrous material. One of the antennæ of the big Longicorn was broken before packing, but all the joints of it were sent. The fossil species, before this reaches you, I daresay you will have admired. I wish to obtain your opinion of their affinities and description of the specimens. If you could get the Rev. P. Brodie's work on the *Insects of the English Lias*, I have no doubt you would find some of their congeners. Could you not send some copies of the principal objects figured in that publication? If I could procure a little more stone from Kota, the locality from which those I have sent came, I have no doubt I could in a day or two make as splendid a collection as Mr.

Brodie, of coleoptera, orthoptera, neuroptera, etc. Allow me to guess at the two I have sent. The elytron has belonged to the Elateridæ, and the wing-cover to the Blattidæ. Of what a magnificent cockroach the latter must have formed part, with its deep chestnut brown patches, now represented by the dark stains. One of our common house cockroaches is variegated thus. Could you, from a book, send me some information about our smaller and commoner house Blatta?

"We are still allowed to live in quiet, and although Delhi has not yet been taken according to our last accounts, yet the state of matters in India is improving. But oh, what a bloody fiery trial it has passed through. With our love to you all. . . .

"NAGPOOR, 14*th May* 1858.— . . . I enclose pieces of *Paludina Bengalensis* encrusted with *Hislopia lacustris*. They are from the tank on the west side of the city of Nagpoor—the only locality where this new genus has as yet been discovered, though I have little doubt that search will only require to be made for it, to find it over all India and probably in the regions beyond. If it were not found to be so dispersed, to what a strange speculation would its limited occurrence give rise? What do you think of the blind beetles of North America? . . . What have you done with the fossil insects which I sent to you for the Geological Society? They will require to be forwarded to their destination, as they are not properly mine to dispose of, but were received from Dr. Jerdon, one of our most distinguished naturalists, a native of Jedburgh or its neighbourhood. Fossils of my own recently acquired I do not intend to present to the Geological Society in the meantime, as those formerly given have not yet been described. If I had made them rarer they would probably have been more valued; and had I kept the best specimens instead of transmitting them to London I might have been able to describe most of them myself.

"I have not sent you Dr. Rawes's Longicorns yet, hoping there may be an opportunity of some of our own household being the bearers of them to you ere long. What sort of water-beetles do you particularly want? If you would sketch them I could employ some person to hunt for them during the approaching rains. I hope to hear something soon from Brodie's book, according to your promise. . . . One great objection to the *Vestiges* is that it is evidently the work of a man who has not distinguished himself by his original investigations.

"I do not think that the £250 you mention can be all mine; but when you favour me with a statement of my affairs I shall be able to understand the matter better. In the meantime you are welcome to the use of anything that you consider mine. . . . Does Stephen

exhibit any symptoms of an inward work? This is his birthday, dear boy. His sisters are writing to him. His mamma and I entreat the Lord for him. Could you send out a paper photograph of him? I think Erasma and our three daughters must leave India about the end of this year."

The lecture which Mr. Hislop was deluded into attempting to deliver to the "society" of Kamthi, as preliminary to a dance, was not the first which he had publicly given in India on geology. Before leaving Madras he addressed the educated young men of the city "on the goodness of God as seen in the effects produced by the action of heat on the present condition of the earth." The lecture was published, and it would be difficult to find so perfect a statement of dynamical geology, as it was in 1851, applied after the manner of the Bridgewater Treatises. The speaker's own original observations were modestly used, and justice was done to the latest researches of M. Elie de Beaumont on the elevation of mountain chains, and of Darwin on the Andes. The accurate and widely-drawn facts, the clear arrangement, and the eloquent exposition and application of scientific principles in that lecture, intensify the regret that the writer did not live to enjoy the ripe leisure which would have allowed him to produce a readable and authoritative treatise on the geology and physiography of at least Peninsular India. The following passage is at once an illustration of his style of exposition and a statement of facts and scientific deductions, following a description of the heat agency by which the crystalline rocks were poured forth, and islands, continents, and mountain ranges were elevated :—

"In tracing the course of crystalline rocks upward among the stratified rocks, we meet precisely with those phenomena which we might naturally have anticipated. Before their heat sandstone has been vitrified—chalk has been crystallised —dark-coloured limestone has been turned into the purest

marble—and coal, having lost its bitumen, has been converted into anthracite. By marking how high, in the series of stratified rocks, the influence of any particular eruption had extended, M. Elie de Beaumont was enabled to determine at what geological period it had taken place, and to draw up a comparative view of the ages of the various mountain chains in Europe. The principle of arrangement on which he proceeded was to class together all those systems that coincide in their general direction, and that have disturbed the same stratified rocks. If we find, for example, certain strata, that must once have been deposited horizontally, lying on the sides of a mountain in an inclined position, and if we find above these strata certain other deposits that retain their horizontal position, and merely touch the mountain with their edges, then it is obvious that that uplifted mass must have been protruded at a date subsequent to the deposition of the lower strata, and previous to the formation of the higher. Now, as the relative ages of the stratified rocks are pretty correctly known, they become the means of fixing the period of the upheaval, when the mountain was formed. In this way it is ascertained that several of the peaks in Westmoreland in England, Shetland in Scotland, and some of the German ranges, have been formed at the same distant epoch, because they all run in a north-east direction and have disturbed the same ancient strata—the Silurian. In like manner, it is discovered that the main chain of the Alps—the highest mountains in Europe, are of the same recent age as the Himalaya—the highest mountains in Asia and the world: for it is remarkable that both these celebrated ranges run in the same easterly direction and have affected similar tertiary strata. And about the same time as the granite and schistose rocks of the Himalaya were elevated so far above the surface, rocks of the same nature made their appearance on the eastern and western coast of Peninsular India, while a great part of

the Bombay Presidency, extending over an area of 200,000 square miles, was covered by one sheet of trap.

"Thus are we enabled to estimate the age, in reference to other rocks, of the hills of greenstone, and the granitic family, which occur in our neighbourhood. They are among the newest of all the mountains that are to be found in the world. Although it appears likely that the chief upheaval of all these Indian chains has been nearly contemporaneous, viz., about the end of the tertiary epoch, yet this supposition is not inconsistent with the belief that there have been slight and partial elevations since, the traces of which will be best seen on the coast. . . . There are sufficient data to prove that the whole ground under our feet to a considerable distance north and south, and it may be to near the base of the neighbouring hills, is strewed at the depth in some places of ten, in others of sixteen or twenty feet, with marine shells. The chunam, with which our houses are built and adorned, is made, as you are aware, from these fossils. The different species in my possession, collected from two pits at Vepery, and from one to the south and another to the north of Madras, are very numerous; but although there are some among them which I have not yet been able to match from the present beach, yet I am convinced they will be found to be all identical with the recent inhabitants of the deep. It is maintained by some, and I believe with truth, that the sea at present is fast gaining upon the Coromandel coast; but you will perceive that it is also true that the land has gained upon the sea; and though the event may not have taken place within the historical period, the analogy of the South American coast leads us to the conviction that it has occurred since the deposition of the latest tertiary strata in India, and since the elevation of the mountain masses which have been protruded through these strata."

The first contribution from Mr. Hislop's pen to the learned

societies was appropriately made through Dr. John Wilson to the Bombay branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. In its *Journal* for July and August 1853, there appeared his article on the "Geology of the Nagpoor State." For the same Society he afterwards wrote, "On the age of the coal strata in Western Bengal and Central India." At the request of Dr. Carter, who had edited a volume of the Geological Papers on Western India, Mr. Hislop contributed his last paper to that Society's *Journal*, entitled, "Remarks on the Geology of Nagpoor," in which he brought down to 1861 the results of his researches during eight years more, availing himself of the contemporary criticisms of Dr. Oldham, his close correspondent. But his most important work was given to the scientific world of Europe through the Geological Society of London. To that his rarest, freshest, and most numerous fossils were sent, to be reported on in due time by such specialists as Owen, Bunbury, Huxley, and Rupert Jones. The last thus authoritatively and briefly summarised all his geological work at the close of his career :—

"In 1853 the Rev. S. Hislop and his then colleague, the Rev. R. Hunter, observed that the tablets of reddish sandstone that served the native school-children for 'slates' bore fossil remains of plants; and tracing the stones to the quarry from which they were obtained, they discovered abundant vegetable fossils; and, collecting them with care, they sent a large series of specimens to the Geological Society of London, most of which have been since described (in 1861) by Sir C. Bunbury, in the Society's *Journal*. They also made a careful examination of the geological characters of the vicinity of Nagpoor, collected all the information they could from memoirs and notices by early labourers in Indian geology, and sent a large collection of tertiary plant-remains, shells, insects, fishes, and bones, as well as rock-specimens and minerals, from the Nagpoor territory to the Geological

Society. Before long, in 1854, Messrs. Hislop and Hunter communicated to that Society a memoir, giving their views as to the geological structure of that country, and an abstract was published in the tenth volume of the Geological Society's *Quarterly Journal*, and the memoir, in full, appeared in the eleventh volume, with a geological map of the western part of the Nagpoor territory by the authors. Amendments of the map were subsequently communicated by Mr. Hislop; and in 1855 he sent home a short notice on the Umret Coal-field, lying north of Nagpoor, and related by synchronism to the plant-beds of the latter district, as well as to the Burdwan and other coals of Bengal. Having come to England in 1859, Mr. Hislop undertook the description of the Tertiary shells that he and Mr. Hunter had formerly sent home, as well as others that he now brought, both from the vicinity of Nagpoor and from Rajamahendri; and the results of this labour of love appeared as a memoir in the *Journal of the Geological Society*, vol. xvi., illustrated with six plates, chiefly from his own drawings. The fossil insects and Cypridæ of Nagpoor were at the same time described by his friends A. Murray, F.R.S.E., and Rupert Jones, F.G.S.

"Returning to India early in 1861, he wrote a succinct account of his views of the age and relationship of the red sandstones, coal, and other beds of Central India, on board the steamer, and communicated it to the Geological Society as a companion paper to Sir C. Bunbury's memoir on the fossil plants of Nagpoor and Mangali, both appearing in the seventeenth volume of the Society's *Journal*. Later in the same year an extract from one of his letters appeared in the same journal (vol. xviii.) on the age of the Kota limestone, which lies on sandstone containing plant-remains, and equivalent to that near Nagpoor.

"The results of the geological labours are of much importance in the natural history of Central India, and, indeed,

throw light on the age of the coal-series of Bengal also. The great fern-leaves, stems of trees, and other plant-remains from near Nagpoor; the plants and reptiles, fishes and Estheriæ from Mangali; the Ceratodi from Maledi; the fishes and other fossils from Kota, as well as the manifold fossil forms from the Tertiary beds of the Dekhan, all help, or will help, in indicating the relative ages of the Indian strata, and putting them in geological order, adding knowledge for the scientific geologist, and, thereby, guidance for the practical man.

"The earnestness and clearness of his work, whether in the field or at home, were equalled by Mr. Hislop's desire to be just to fellow-labourers and earlier observers, and by his modest avoidance of notoriety as a geologist and naturalist. With his equally enlightened colleague he had gleaned much in the Nagpoor field of natural history, and when, after the Indian rebellion (during which a friendly native warned him in time to save Nagpoor from the threatened evil), he lost his colleague—retiring with broken health—he still gave all the leisure that he conscientiously could spare from his more important duties to collecting and observing, his periodical tours of inspection and instruction affording almost his only opportunities. A faithful native, Virapa, served him as a collector, being occasionally sent to considerable distances for fossils. At one of Virapa's last visits to Maledi he discovered a valuable series of reptilian bones and teeth.

"As helps in studying the fossil forms of life in India, Mr. Hislop lost no opportunity of collecting and observing recent animals and plants of kinds similar to the extinct, and these he freely communicated to naturalists in India and England. Some small bivalve Crustacea collected by him from the ponds and streams of Nagpoor have been described by Dr. Baird, and allied fossil forms from Nagpoor and Mangali by Mr. Rupert Jones."

Mr. Hislop's Memoir on the Geology of Nagpoor in 1854 is remarkable, among other features, for the coloured geological map of the western part of the territory which, with infinite toil, having walked almost every foot of the ground, he drew on the scale of twenty miles to an inch. Mr. G. B. Greenough had not then exhibited his geological map of India to the British Association, and incorporated Hislop's in the wider area. Maps of the Trigonometrical Survey were not then available as a basis, and Rushton's political map of 1842 was used, with a sketch by Mr. Sankey of the northern formations. From the junction with the great Godavari of the Pranhita river, containing the united waters of the Wardha and the Waenganga, Hislop's map, drawn in 1853, shows us the coal-fields north by Chanda and the Wardha valley to the Satpooras, by the valley of the Kanhan and the Pench to Barkoi and the Mahadewa range. It is to him the State owes the first scientific discovery of what may be called the coal-fields of the Godavari and its affluents, covering at least 12,000 square miles, and now being opened up by railways south to Haidarabad, north towards Jabalpoor, and east to Bengal.

Having carefully done justice to preceding observers, and noticed the discovery in 1842 in the Kamthi sandstone quarries by Lieutenant Monro of H. M.'s 39th Regiment, of the impressions of ferns, Mr. Hislop thus tells his own story :—

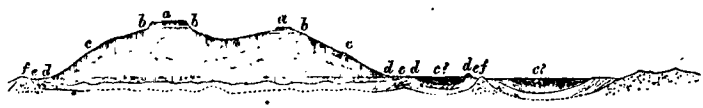
"In 1845 I procured a few fossils of the same kind from the Kamthi sandstone, and two years subsequently my esteemed colleague the Rev. R. Hunter and myself fell in with them in the contemporaneous strata of Chanda, eighty miles south of Nagpoor. None of these specimens, however, were preserved, nor was anything further done by us or by others to understand the palæontology of this part of India until June 1851, when, walking with my fellow-labourer in the neighbourhood of our residence, two or three Physas, in a deposit enclosed in a trap hill about a mile west of Sitabaldi, and two miles in the same direction from Nagpoor, forced themselves on my notice.

They were at once referred to the fossils which Voysey and Malcolmson had discovered in a similar situation, and the deposit in which they occur was identified with the freshwater formation that they had traced in several parts of the Nizam's territory, and at Chikni and Hinghanghat in this State. In a few days after, at the same spot, I found the first bone, and Mr. Hunter the first tooth; and, after a week or two, on Takli Plain, about two and a half miles N.W. of Nagpoor, I met with the first Fruit and Entomostracan. About the same time, from observing the traces of ancient vegetation on the soft clayey sandstone, used in the absence of chalk for whitening the writing-boards in our Mission schools, I was led to make inquiries about the locality from which it was brought, which ended in the discovery of *Glossopteris* and *Phyllotheca* and some seeds or seed-vessels at Bokhara, six miles north of Nagpoor. Ere long we were joined by our friend Captain Wapshare, Judge Advocate of the Nagpoor Subsidiary Force, who added many valuable vegetable remains to our collection; and it is to his able and generous efforts that we owe, among other rare acquisitions, the first palm and the first mulberry-like fruits. From the red shale of Korhadi, seven miles north of Nagpoor, I procured tracks of Annelids, and more recently, in combination with them, the footmarks of some Reptile; and towards the end of the year, in company with Lieutenant Sankey of the Madras Engineers, I visited Silewada, twelve miles north of Nagpoor, where the sandstone yielded a profusion of rich and most beautiful specimens of *Glossopteris*, and whence have since been obtained a variety of Exogenous stems, several species of *Phyllotheca*, and an interesting specimen, contributed by Mr. Hunter, of an allied genus, which by Lindley and Hutton is reckoned an *Equisetum*, and by Bunbury probably an *Asterophyllites*.

"A Mission tour, undertaken about the same time, conducted my colleague and myself past the freshwater formation at Pahadsingha, forty miles W.N.W. of Nagpoor, in which was detected an abundance of fish-scales, dispersed through the stone. On our return, Mr. Hunter, among the seeds and fruits of Takli, discovered the first specimen and the greater part of our fossil *Coleoptera*; while we received an accession to our collection of shells from Dr. J. Miller, then of the 10th Regiment M.N.I., who, while on an excursion with Dr. Fitzgerald, had found the freshwater formation at Butara near Machhaghoda, eighty miles north of Nagpoor, and also from Mr. Sankey, who had fallen in with it at Pilkapahad, twenty-five miles to the north-west. The latter-named officer, after discovering in the Kamthi quarries the first *Vertebraria*, a fine species of *Phyllotheca*, a long

endogenous leaf, and an abundant kind of seed, all of which he liberally handed over to us, proceeded along with Dr. Jerdon, the Indian ornithologist, in the direction of Butara and the Mahadewa Hills, whence they returned with several new fossils belonging to our Eastern Coal-formation, and excellent specimens of the shells previously collected by Dr. Miller, agreeing in general with those of this neighbourhood. In a portion of the Butara rock which they kindly gave me, I was struck with the appearance of a diminutive creature, which proved to be a second genus of the *Entomostraca*. Ere the first anniversary of the discovery of our earliest *Physa* had come round, several other localities had been ascertained for both the freshwater and sandstone fossils, and observations had been made on the remains of quadrupeds and shells embedded in comparatively recent deposits. Since that, on our annual Mission tours we have become acquainted with a productive site for sandstone organisms at Mangali, sixty miles south of Nagpoor, which has afforded a few unusual vegetable remains, a species of *Estheria*, scales and jaws of Fish, and the entire head of a Saurian; we have passed through districts abounding in laterite and iron-ore, and have increased our knowledge of the geological structure of the country generally.

"It is obvious that the palæontology of this district, contrary to the common idea of Indian formations, is both varied and important; but,



even in a lithological point of view, there are few tracts of equal extent that are worthy of more attention, and of all the portions of that interesting area, there is none for interest that can be compared with the vicinity of Nagpoor,—its centre at once political, historical, and geological. We have only to take a few steps from our house and we reach the summit of Sitabaldi Hill,—the scene of as heroic a conflict as ever our countrymen gained in the East. The spot on which we stand consists of nodular trap. At the distance of a few yards from our feet, just under the brow of the hill, is a narrow stripe of green or yellow calcareous indurated clay, which, on close inspection, is found to contain a number of decaying casts of freshwater shells. Under this we perceive a bluish-green friable rock, which hardens first into a tough amygdaloid, and then, a little above the level of the plain, down to which it is scarped by the quarrymen, into a compact

greenstone. Cropping out from under the foot of the hill may be seen a bed of soft variegated sandstone, and then, according as we look east or west, the prevailing rock covering the plain beyond is either gneiss or trap.

"But let us extend the prospect to the horizon. As we stand with our faces to the north, the first glance that we cast on the distant hills shows that there is a marked difference among them. Behind us, on our left and in front, we follow a long sweep of flattened summits, with here and there a valley to break the uniformity; but no sooner do we look towards the right than we descry a series of round-topped hills rising up at intervals in massive strength. These flattened summits are the tops of trap-hills, which stretch, in the form we see, from our present position, to the coast of the Arabian Sea; and these massive eminences are granitic hills which rise up in the manner that meets our eye, at various distances from each other, from the place where we stand to the Bay of Bengal. The intermediate hills and plains, which in front fill up the foreground, are formed of the dolomite and shale of Korhadi, and the sandstone of the basins of the Kanhan and Kolar.

"From our elevated station we are thus enabled to command a prospect of twenty miles in every direction, and the formations that we can trace within that range make up an exact miniature of the geology of our whole area. Nay, were we to go down the hill and walk around its base, in the descent and circuit, which might all be accomplished in twenty minutes, we should meet with almost every rock that is to be found between Bombay and Kattàk.

"The geology of our area must at one time have been extremely simple. Its principal feature was then sandstone, associated with shale and limestone. But now other two formations are discovered on the arena, and these seem on the surface as if they had been two huge icebergs, which approached each other in frightful collision, crushing the sandstone between them, and allowing the fragments to slide out at either end, and scattering them here and there over their own bulk. Or, to speak in language more precise, the sandstone formation, which once occupied the whole space that we have chosen for description, is now covered up by trap on the west, and broken up by granite on the east, leaving only a small diagonal stripe running through the centre, which, after being interrupted at the north-west and south-east, increases in these directions to a broad expanse, while a few detached portions, formerly continuous with it, appear in the body of the trap and granite. It is the juxtaposition of trap, sandstone, and granite

in this neighbourhood which invests the geology of Nagpoor with special importance, and which, when investigated by competent observers, may shed a flood of light some future day upon Indian geology in general."

Justice is done to much of the geological work of Mr. Hislop by Mr. W. T. Blanford, F.R.S., in his discussion of the Gondwana formations in the official *Manual of the Geology of India* (1879). Professor Owen's description, in the *Geological Journal*, of the *Brachyops laticeps* sent home by Mr. Hislop, attracted the attention of scientific Europe, so that Mr. Blanford writes, "The quarries of Mangali (sixty miles south of Nagpoor) have become well known by name to Indian geologists and even to those of other countries, from having furnished to Mr. Hislop the first Labyrinthodont amphibian fossil detected in India." In the *Philosophical Magazine* for January 1862, conducted by Sir David Brewster, Professor Tyndall, and others, there appeared a mineralogical description of a series of rocks collected near Nagpoor by Messrs. Hislop and Hunter, and sent by Mr. Rupert Jones to Professor Haughton, F.R.S., of the University of Dublin, for report as a mineralogist. One of the rocks he pronounced "a very remarkable mineral"—a combination of calc-spar and glauconite, of a brilliant grass-green, so penetrating each other as to constitute a beautiful example of mineralogical law. "I propose to give the name of *Hislopite* to the remarkable combination," wrote that savant. Another new mineral species, a white felspath of fatty lustre, he proposed to call *Hunterite*. Mr. Hislop wrote thus of these minerals in his paper of 1860 on the *Tertiary Deposits Associated with Trap-rock in the East Indies*:—

"In the trap at the Takli Artillery Lines, which encloses pieces of the clayey fossiliferous deposit, there are also contained masses of 'calc-spar curiously striated, the lines of growth not being perpendicular to the optic axis, but formed by planes parallel to one of the edges of the obtuse trihedral angle of the rhombohedron, and intercept-

ing equal portions on the other two edges of that angle.' The doleritic lava, which is quarried from Sitabaldi Hill, is in some places marked with belts that may be traced continuously for many yards, consisting of cavities 'lined with obsidian in a thin glazed pellicle, and occasionally filled up with tabular crystals of calc-spar.' In the trap on the south escarpment of the hill there was discovered a rhomboidal piece of a green mineral, which Professor Haughton proposes calling *Hislopite*, being in his opinion worthy of distinction as a new species, from the remarkable combination in it of calcareous matter, which gives the outward form to the whole crystal, with a grass-green siliceous skeleton of glauconite, which on analysis he finds to be a hydrated tersilicate of protoxide of iron.

"From a vein of pegmatite in gneiss a few hundred yards east of my house a fragment was broken off, which, besides the usual components of quartz and felspar, contained a 'white felspathic mineral of fatty lustre, softer than felspar, but gritty under the agate pestle.' To this mineral Professor Haughton has given the name of *Hunterite*. Neglecting the lime and magnesia in it, which are inconsiderable, it is found to consist 'of five atoms of a hydrated tersilicate of alumina combined with one atom of a hyaline silica of admitted composition.'"

A very great and immediate practical service which Mr. Hislop's geological observations did to the people and Government of India, lay in his study of soils. The greater portion of the land revenue of India, exceeding twenty millions sterling a year, is raised by a system of settlements or assessments, revised every generation, after careful survey by British civil servants with a staff of native subordinates. If these periodical leases, unfortunately not yet made permanent on corn-rents, are not to injure the peasant-proprietors, each with three to five acres, and sap the political stability of our Indian empire, the question of soils must be well understood by the officials. In the Central Provinces they consulted Mr. Hislop before the regular land settlements began to be made. He had for the first time revealed the origin of the famous black cotton or millet soil of central and southern India, known by the Telugu name of (*regada*) Regur. Its fertility is so great that some plains are said to have produced for two

thousand years without manure, fallow or irrigation, crops of jawari or cholam (*Holcus sorghum*), and of bajri or cumbu (*Holcus spica*). Hislop found out its secret to be the impregnation of certain argillaceous formations with organic matter, and probably covered at one time with luxuriant forest. His mastery of Marathi and converse with the peasantry gave him a practical experience of soils no less valuable than his scientific knowledge.

The Gondwana system of sandstones and shales, with which Stephen Hislop's name is for ever associated, represents the marine older and middle Mesozoic, and probably the upper Palæozoic, formations of other countries. For the first time organic remains appear in the peninsula, at that era forming part of a vast continent, which, before the Himalaya were elevated to the north of it, stretched from Madagascar and South Africa to Malaysia and Australia. Then came the marine Cretaceous deposits of South India and up to the Narbada valley, with which Hislop did not come into contact. And thereafter, or while the upper Cretaceous beds were being deposited from the Western Narbada region to the south coast of Arabia, there occurred the most extensive and gigantic series of basaltic lava eruptions and overflows in the history of the preparation of the world for man. Even now, after ages of denudation, these grand masses of bedded traps cover an area of 200,000 square miles. The railway traveller from Bombay to Nagpoor, 519 miles, leaves these volcanic traps only as he approaches Hislop's old mission-house; they extend from Sind south-eastwards to far Amarkantak hill. They give to Western and Central India the scenery and vegetation which consist in flat-topped hills, with terraced sides, separating undulating plains on which long grass takes the place of trees, and all is bleak and desolate till the rainy season brings verdure and beauty. Peninsular India is in truth a

plateau of black basalt, which denudation has made habitable by teeming millions, who live upon its millets, export its wheat, and clothe themselves and half the world with its cotton.

Hislop's ten years' study of the Mesozoic sandstones and Tertiary traps enabled him, with the vividness of a severely inductive imagination, to picture Peninsular India for us in these two periods.

"Central India was covered by a large body of fresh water, which stretched southward into the Peninsula, and eastward into Bengal, while on the north and west it communicated by some narrow channel with the sea. On the shores of this lake earthworms crawled, and small reptiles (frogs) crept over the soft mud. In its pools sported flocks of little Entomostracans, resembling the modern *Estheria*, mingled with which were Ganoid fishes and Labyrinthodonts. The streams which fed it brought down into its bed the debris of the plutonic and metamorphic rocks which then constituted the greater part of the dry land, and which were covered with an abundant vegetation of Ferns, most of them distinguished by the entireness of their fronds. Low-growing plants with grooved and jointed stems inhabited the marshes; and Conifers and other Dicotyledonous trees, with Palms, raised their heads aloft. Meanwhile plutonic action was going on, and strata, as they were formed, were shattered and reconstructed into a breccia; and finally an extensive outburst of granite elevated the bed of the lake and left it dry land. The sea now flowed at Pondicheri and Trichinopoli, depositing the cretaceous strata which are found there.

"At the end of this epoch Central India suffered a depression and was again covered by a vast lake, communicating with the sea, not towards Cutch as before, but in the neighbourhood of Rajamahendri, to which the salt water had now advanced. When the lake had during its appointed

time furnished an abode to its peculiar living creatures and plants, it was invaded by an immense outpouring of trap, which filled up its bed, and left Western and a great part of Central India a dreary waste of lava. But these basaltic steppes were ere long broken up. A second eruption of trap, not now coming to the surface, but forcing a passage for itself under the newer lacustrine strata, lifted up the superincumbent mass in ranges of flat-topped hills. Since then, to the east, water has swept over the plutonic and sandstone rocks, and laid down quantities of transported materials impregnated with iron, and some time after there were deposited in the west a conglomerate, imbedding bones of huge mammals, and above it a stratum of brown clay, which immediately preceded the superficial deposits of the black and red soils."

The brilliant scientific results at which he arrived, and the numerous and unique collections of objects of Natural History which he made, were, like all work of permanent value and suggestiveness, the fruit of enthusiastic toil, and were possible only by a jealous husbanding of his time. His note and commonplace books, written in an almost microscopic but legible hand, record every scientific incident of his tours, and block out the materials of his published papers. They might even now be given to the world as the model apparatus of a naturalist. They are illustrated by drawings of the minutest shells and fossils, made and coloured in a style on which the engraver could not and did not improve. The ardent student of Nature seems to have read all that appeared on his favourite subjects, and to have been patiently accumulating materials for a Geology of all India. At a time and in a country where ordinary maps did not exist he patiently made his own, and he trained Virapa and his other native collectors, like himself, to pace the distances which they traversed, and note the villages through which they

passed, that every locality of interest might be easily recognised. The Government referred to him for correction and to fill up the blanks in Greenough's Geological Map of India. The Madras Government asked his co-operation in an official attempt to describe, at that comparatively early time, the Geology of India south of the Vindhya range. With zeal he set himself to meet demands, the wisdom of which he recognised and indeed had been the first to prompt, applying to the task his little leisure and much correspondence with local officers who trusted him, as well as the services of his native helpers.

Though circumstances led him to give his strength to Geology, which demands a knowledge of all the physical sciences, Hislop's special taste was always for Botany, and he gave particular attention to Zoology. His Journals record, in separate departments, his observations under these branches of inquiry. Like Carey, he enters the native names of the botanical specimens, and illustrates his technical descriptions by drawings. His zoological records are minute, varied, and occasionally amusing, in connection with the life and superstitions of the natives. His brother Robert's demands led him to give attention to Entomology. He achieved a reputation as a conchologist which became embarrassing. One collector told another of his skill and bigheartedness, until demands for exchanges came upon him from all parts of the world, from Australia, Italy, and Great Britain. When Sir William Denison, R.E., became Governor of Madras, His Excellency began to address to him from Guindy many letters, from which it appears that the Governor of the quietest of our Indian Provinces delighted to spend his days in arranging, naming, and bartering his shelly treasures.

Even more interesting, to the scientific reader, than the journals are Hislop's letters to contemporay Naturalists, and

their still more voluminous correspondence with him. The drafts of the former are only in a few cases preserved—among them one to Hugh Miller in 1853; the communications of the latter form four thin volumes. His generous and prompt gifts of fossils to the principal public collections of objects of Natural History in India, England, and Scotland at once brought down upon him, with overwhelming force of both gratitude and hope for the future, their learned and acquisitive curators. First in importance came the Geological Society of London, which he asked to report on the character and value of the treasures he sent to them, especially on the at first disputed question of the geological age to which these belonged. This was done through his old schoolfellow Mr. J. C. Moore, one of the secretaries; it brought him the life-long friendship of Mr. T. Rupert Jones, and it secured the grateful intercourse of Sir Charles Bunbury, Bart. "How can anything about fossils interest you in these dreadful times?" writes the second of these to him in the height of the Mutiny campaigns. "Dr. Robert Brown has expressed his admiration of all. Dr. Falconer frequently comes and wishes they were well described and published. His experience in both vegetables and animals will be at our service when the work is advanced, as also the aid of both Professor Owen and Dr. Hooker. The reptilian sabre-shaped tooth from Takli, and other teeth, created a lively interest in Mr. Owen and Dr. Falconer. Your recent shells from Nagpoor are much coveted by my conchological friends, but I strictly keep them all in hand, promising some of the duplicates to those who help us in describing the fossil shells. Messrs. Oldham and Medlicott are just leaving for the East; they have carefully examined all the sandstone flora. Professor Morris is now at work on Oldham's Bengal fossil plants, and will compare the Nagpoor series at the same time. I have just received from North Africa further speci-

mens illustrative of the same world-girding jurassico-triassic flora."

The contributions to the Bombay and Bengal Asiatic societies led to a long correspondence with Dr. Carter, Dr. Leith, and Mr. A. Grote; on the Madras side, with Sir Walter Elliot, Dr. G. Balfour, and Colonel Haig, R.E. Professor Allman was effusive in the expression of his thankfulness for the collection of fossils and shells which Hislop sent to his own University of Edinburgh. We may be sure that Professor Duns of the New College there was not forgotten. At the time when Dr. Duff passed through Nagpoor Mr. Hislop was visited also by Adolph Schlagintweit, one of the three brothers, disciples of Alexander von Humboldt, whom the influence of the Prince Consort led the Court of Directors to send out on what they called "a scientific mission to India and high Asia." The results of their magnetic survey have not proved so valuable as was hoped, and for these one of the brothers sacrificed his life in Turkestan. Both Adolph and Hermann were admiring correspondents of Stephen Hislop. But if Germany had done nothing more than give to India another correspondent of his, Sir Dietrich Brandis, who organised its forest department, that land of learning would have done well.

The letters of Dr. Oldham, while director of the Geological Survey of India, and of his accomplished staff of surveyors, are especially full and frank in their expressions of indebtedness to the Scottish missionary who, after all, could give to their subject only the little leisure of a brief life spent in the most absorbing of all pursuits, of which the first Christian apostle exclaimed: "Necessity is laid upon me, yea, woe is unto me if I preach not the gospel!" When acknowledging specimens of reptilian teeth, Oldham expressed his delight at the assurance that Hislop looked forward to a return to India after furlough. "Our ranks of geologists are too thin

in this distant land to spare easily one of our leaders. I trust you will add much still to your valuable discoveries!" In March 1859 the *Calcutta Review* published forty pages of an article on "Geology in India," in which Dr. Oldham, the writer, thus did justice publicly to the scientific work of the two missionaries:—

"We turn with pleasure to some of the most valuable contributions to the Geology of India which have appeared during the last ten years, namely, the labours of the Rev. Messrs. Hislop and Hunter in the district of Nagpoor. These gentlemen, busily and devotedly engaged in conducting a large and important missionary establishment, to which were attached valuable schools requiring constant superintendence and care, have yet found time, snatched at intervals from their more pressing duties, to bring together and combine into most excellent descriptive papers, the detached observations they were enabled to make during their annual tours, visiting their out-stations, and marching from village to village proclaiming to the benighted inhabitants the glorious tidings of that Gospel whose ministers they were. Few districts have received more able illustrations, even from professional geologists, than has the vicinity of Nagpoor from these zealous missionaries. Mr. Hislop has continued his labours, and since he has been deprived of the aid of his fellow-worker, has found time to discuss in some valuable papers the more theoretical questions of the geological age of the rocks he had before described. We would point to these most important communications as almost the only instances within the period to which we have limited ourselves, of local contributions from permanent residents to the geology of their immediate neighbourhood. Mr. Hislop's own experience, so clearly told in his brief history of the successive stages of his geological discoveries, shows how slowly, how gradually, evidence after evidence accumulated; how one season yielded one fact, the succeeding season another, until after years of untiring and unbroken application, he was at last able to think that sufficient material had been brought together to justify his reasoning on the whole, and attempting to bring all into one co-ordination or system. We know of no brighter instance of the value of early training and habits of observation than we find in these papers."

Dr. Oldham having sent on from Hislop a letter to his chief surveyor, Mr. J. G. Medlicott, the latter replied from

Simla, "I am right glad to find you once more pen in hand. My knowledge of the rocks newer than the Mahadewas is based on a very hasty and incomplete examination, whereas yours is the result of years of brilliantly successful research. . . . How glad I should be were I able to go down to Nagpoor and work out under your guidance and with your assistance these physical questions." Again, when sending him his Report on the Narbada district, Mr. J. G. Medlicott wrote, "As a Geological Surveyor I take the opportunity of thanking you as a Geologist, for all the pleasure and instruction I have derived from your labours."

CHAPTER IX

A SCOTS MISSIONARY ON SICK LEAVE

Fourteen years of happy toil—Ordered on two years' sick leave by the physician—Unwilling to go—Death of two Maratha women, Baka Bai the poor Christian, and Baka Bai the Hindu Queen—At Bombay, Suez, and Malta—The exile home again—His lecture to divinity students—Correspondence with Dr. Hunter, chiefly scientific—The Geological Society of London—Forming missionary associations—Burning address to the Free Synod of Glasgow and Ayr—The Liverpool conference on Christian missions—Sir Herbert Edwardes and Sir Donald M'Leod—Lord Shaftesbury on neutrality—Hislop's chivalrous defence of John Anderson—His account of the sale of Bible literature to natives—Explains the race differences between the aboriginal and Hindu-Buddhist peoples—The revival of religion among the fisher-folk of Craig or Ferryden—The influence of spiritual operations on the body—Reflex action of foreign and home missions illustrated by Hislop—He addresses the General Assembly of 1860—Farewells to children and friends—By Paris and Marseilles to Bombay and Nagpoor—Correspondence, spiritual and scientific, with Dr. Hunter—Resumes mission work and scientific recreation in the perfection of his powers.

For fourteen years, or about twice the period of service which now entitles British officials and most missionaries to furlough, Stephen Hislop had toiled in the plains of India. For all but eight of these, when he had rejoiced in the companionship and help of Robert Hunter, a like-minded worker in all things, he had been alone. His annual tour, for a month every cold season, had been refreshing indeed to his spirit, but had proved to be only a busier time, if possible, than his regular service,—a time in which from sunrise to sunset Marathi and Gond preaching alternated with scientific research, and both were accompanied by the circulation and

sale of Bible and Christian vernacular literature. These were not the days when Anglo-Indians, of all pursuits, considered it as necessary to spend part of the hot season in Simla or Mussourie, Naini-Tal or Darjeeling, the Neelgiri or Mahableshwar hills, as the prosperous classes in Great Britain do to spend two months in the highlands or at the seaside.

He had practically discovered what has been described as one of the greenest, softest, and most lovely of sanitaria that exist in India, the Pachmarhi plateau, at a height of 3538 feet, embosomed in the Mahadewa hills, but that was for others not for himself—*sic vos non vobis nidificatis aves.* When called away to help Madras he and his family had to make the tedious journey twice in the most scorching heats of May; and for half of his time of absence he had the misery of knowing that some of his own brethren were eager to kill the mission he had founded that they might secure his strength for their own. Twice had he been brought to the gates of death by threatened hydrophobia and the mistaken assaults of the mob of Nagpoor. Fever had again and again followed the exposure to sun and rain, rendered inevitable by the incidents of the Mutiny year, and his being compelled to do the work of three missionaries. Only the assistance of officers, some of whom he himself had led to Christ—as in one way Andrew led Philip, and in another Stephen led Paul — made it possible for him to keep up two English services a week in Sitabaldi and Kamthi, while developing the native mission there, and in the great city of Nagpoor. His official and private correspondence betrays no irritation, no murmuring on his own account. All his life from boyhood he had learned to observe and to interpret the providence of God towards himself and others. Only once did expressions of indignation escape him, in the fulness of his correspondence with Mr. Hunter, when he first fully learned that it had ever been proposed to sacrifice Nagpoor for

Madras. All his zeal and all his faith flowed out in appeals of the manliest kind, that the mission staff for the threefold mission he had founded should consist of at least three Scottish missionaries. His death as in the case of Livingstone for Africa, was needed to lead his country and the Church to send first three, and now six Scottish preachers in the vernacular, and teachers of truth in its western forms, to the Central Provinces of India.

On the arrival of the Rev. J. G. and Mrs. Cooper from Madras, Dr. Heude saw that it would be possible at last to compel Mr. Hislop to apply for sick leave instead of merely sending his wife and three daughters home. In a note dated 10th August 1858 which accompanied the sick certificate ordering him to leave India for two years, the physician assigned these reasons: "(1) Your prolonged residence here. (2) You have frequently suffered from fever, also from bowel complaint, latterly from obstinate boils and other indications of failing health. (3) Your duties have been, and are, onerous, have been faithfully discharged, and have entitled you to rest from labour, and to a temporary sojourn in Europe." The certificate he sent to his Church, but not the letter, pronouncing it "painful" to himself that he should be forced to face the possibility of absence from the mission. He thus wrote to his brother Robert:—

"NAGPOOR, 13*th August* 1858.—I did not expect that I should be under the necessity of visiting Europe this year. However, all my friends, both medical and Christian, have united in urging me to take that step; and now I begin myself to feel that it is the Lord's will that I should accompany my dear family, having the same need of the change as they. . . . I forward to Dr. Tweedie a sick certificate from my usual medical attendant, Dr. Heude. . . . At the same time I have expressed my unwillingness to proceed further unless additional help can be provided for this station. It will be painful for me to leave the work even then, though it will be a consolation to think that I am with my beloved wife and children, and have the prospect ere long, by God's blessing, of seeing you all again; but not even these considera-

tions could induce me to forsake Nagpoor if I saw it was to be left without assistance. In these circumstances I cannot announce very positively my movements; but very probably you may have a visit from us all before the end of the year. . . ."

When, on the 8th September 1858, he completed his fortieth year, he specially noted in his journal the death, that day, of two old Marathî women of the same name, Baka Bai. The one, aged seventy-eight, was the mother of the convert Shrawan, a native Christian; her body he laid in the grave in the assured hope of her union to Him who is the Resurrection and the Life. The other, aged eighty-four, was a queen, the widow of Raghoji II., who fought with Wellington at Argaum. The contrast, as unconsciously revealed in this narrative of the last hours of the aged queen, suggests the whole gulf fixed between the life and the hope with which Hinduism in its many forms embitters millions of Asiatics, and the present experience and future destiny offered to those by Him who says, "Because I live ye shall live also."

"This dowager-princess, since the period of her husband's death, has exercised an important influence on the affairs of Central India. During the reign of the last native ruler, who was adopted by her, she possessed all the authority usually accorded in the East to the queen-mother. At the annexation of her country, though she had always previously been reckoned hostile to the British, she was shrewd enough to perceive that her interest lay in not violently opposing that measure. After exhausting all peaceful measures to resist the policy of Lord Dalhousie she consented, along with the queens of his late Highness, and a young man who was adopted to perform his funeral ceremonies, to receive a pension from the British government. The large share which was paid in Baka Bai's name, it is supposed, has now died with her. The deceased was much respected by the Hindu com-

munity, as she was known to be a conscientious adherent of the faith of her forefathers. She was in the habit of daily feasting and worshipping Brahmans, and drinking the water which had been consecrated by their great toes. The day before her death while she was insensible, an order was issued by some of the inmates of the palace on her behalf to distribute some cows among Brahmans. Accordingly, five of these sacred animals were brought into her sick chamber, and to the tail of each successively the poor woman's hands were applied, the priest meanwhile holding it by the head, and ready to lead it away together with a handsome donation in rupees. It is believed that the invalid at the moment of death is thus dragged into heaven at the tail of the cow under the superintendence of the holy Brahman. On the same day that these gifts were bestowed, Baka Bai herself, after reason had returned, called for a cow, and falling at its feet as far as her now fast failing strength would permit, offered it grass, which she invited it to eat under the venerated name of Mother."

Accompanied by Major Lawrence Johnston, and in the weary bullock-carts soon to be banished by the railway, the missionary and his family slowly made their way from Sitabaldi to Poona, after solemn and joyful sacramental services. At Kamthi, all the native converts joined the godly officers, soldiers, and their wives in remembering His death till He come to each one of us and to the world, and both there and at Sitabaldi several native and English presented their children for baptism. Not in Anglican cathedral or abbey; not in any church consecrated only by the Spirit of the Christ of John iv., when the disciples pass to each other the bread and the cup, or a minister is ordained by the laying on of the hands of the Presbytery, have we so felt the presence of the Crucified as when sitting at the Lord's Table with Carey's converts in Serampore, or with the poor Chambars (skinners) in their first service after the siege of Delhi, when

in hymn and prayer and scripture, English alternating with Bengali or Hindi, we have realised how all are one in Christ Jesus.

After a fortnight with Dr. John Wilson in Bombay, during which he confirmed the converts and missionaries of all the churches, preached to the Free Scottish and Maratha congregations, held much converse with Dr. Carter on their geological researches, addressed the Asiatic Society on a collection of fossils from Nagpoor, and visited the Brahmanical Caves of Elephanta with Dr. Wilson, Colonels Shortrede, Birdwood, and Jameson, Mr. Hislop and his family sailed in the *Ganges* on the 25th November. He notes in his journal that rain fell in the Red Sea on the 6th December. At Suez by a minute he lost the train for Cairo, on the railway opened fifteen days before; having visited the cliffs north of Jibel Atakah, which he found to be farther off than he had expected. He was courteously invited to join a special train ordered by an Egyptian official, along with two American naval officers, who had been examining the locality of the passage of the Israelites, and had arrived at the same conclusion as their countryman Robinson, that it was up near Suez.[1]

At the cliffs Hislop saw a cream-coloured and reddish-spotted snake, "which I take to be the fiery flying serpent that bit the Israelites on the opposite coast." At Malta five hours were spent with the Rev. George Wisely, who for forty years has ministered to the Presbyterian troops, sailors, and Scottish residents in that island. The day before Christmas the Hislop family were hospitably received in Melbourne Square, Kensington. Leaving the children there for a time Hislop and his wife hurried to Olney, to Duns, to Blair

[1] Five years before, on his first voyage to India, and again on the opening of the Canal, the present writer spent some time in a careful examination of the head of the Gulf of Suez and the country to the north for some distance, and formed the same opinion.

Lodge, Polmont, and to Arbroath, enjoying with their kinsfolk, and in the revisiting of scenes which remain the same though the exile's eye colours them with the memories of youth, a pleasure which for intensity and purity is not surpassed on earth. Old Indian friends fell next to be visited. General and Mrs. Alcock at Bath; children at Cheltenham, whose longing parents were in the East; the Chapmans at Tilbury, where they embarked with troops for Calcutta; his nephews at Cambridge, students of Caius, where he worshipped in Simeon's Church, and dined in the Common Hall; and cousins at Wooley Park, near Wakefield. In London he was much consulted by the good Henry Carre Tucker, who had brought to the birth the Christian Vernacular Education Society, most valuable and catholic of agencies, as a memorial of the Mutiny. He reached Edinburgh only on the 18th May 1859, where he addressed the evening meeting of the Ladies Society for Female Education in India. The next day he took his seat in the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, as a commissioner from the Presbytery of Bombay.

Hislop's first year at home was spent in comparative rest and in social intercourse, varied by the half-work on his books and studies, without which the true student's holiday would be miserable indeed, and by occasional public addresses. For the British Association for the Advancement of Science, which met at Aberdeen in September 1859, he prepared a paper on the Gonds. When in London he was much in the rooms of the Geological Society, where some of the most precious of the treasures he had sent home still awaited the decision of specialists. When in Edinburgh in autumn, he characteristically threw himself into the evangelising work of the Rev. Dr. J. H. Wilson, in Fountainbridge, the lowest moral level of the city, into which so soon as the Gospel has raised from it the drunken and the depraved,

others seem to fall. It was when on his way to the church there, one Sabbath morning, that Hislop ever either in peril himself or rescuing others saw a child in the canal, while two others stood by helplessly exclaiming "Eh, Johnnie; eh, Johnnie!" Hislop pulled out the drowning Johnnie Mitchell and took him to his mother.

The Students' Missionary Associations of the Divinity Colleges of the Free Church of Scotland, and those of the Scottish Universities, which meet every week during the winter session from November to April, invite the ablest missionaries to address them. We have fortunately the MS. which formed the basis of Mr. Hislop's lecture to the hundred and twenty young theologians of the New College, Edinburgh, of which Chalmers, Welsh, and W. Cunningham used to be the ornaments. We publish it in the appendix[1] as a model for others, and as an example of the lucid arrangement and simplicity of his style, in a form of literature too little cultivated by missionaries.

The correspondence with Mr. Hunter was unrestrained notwithstanding their frequent personal intercourse. We reproduce the scientific passages chiefly :—

"BLAIR LODGE, FALKIRK, 13*th June* 1859.—My visit to London seems to have stirred up the Geological Society. Bunbury is in haste to describe the Jurassic plant remains. I wish he had offered for something else, as they were the part on which I was thinking of beginning. To-day I have received copies of Professor Houghton's paper on the two new minerals. I can make no remarks on it as I have not read it yet. Narayan Vithal was baptized on the day I had expected, and was going on well according to last accounts. This is cause of gratitude."

"LONDON, W., 14*th March* 1859.—I have the pleasure of forwarding you the insects of the Eocene. One of the best, consisting of two very distinct elytra together, which had been picked up by Dr. Rawes, is I am sorry to say lost. I hope all the others are safe. I am glad

[1] See Appendix II.

to hear that Mr. Murray has consented to report upon them, as you could not have found one more competent to the work. But what of Professor Balfour? It is the tertiary vegetable remains that have most difficulty in meeting with a describer worthy of them. . . . I am happy to say that the last elytra have been recovered after burning in the fire for three hours. They are here enclosed, and not much injured. When does Mr. Murray expect to finish the beetles?"

"EDINBURGH, *4th October.*—I regret that I saw little of you towards the end of your stay in Aberdeen. I did not go out much, having still my paper unfinished, till Saturday when I read it. It was listened to attentively, but the subject of it was not likely to interest newspaper reporters, and you need not expect to see a reference to it in the public prints. I left Aberdeen on Saturday afternoon, and went to Arbroath, where I preached on the following day. . . . I wish to show you the article in the *Calcutta Review* on Indian Geology. Have you got Newbold *On Malacca?* Should you have it, I would thank you for a sight of the volume that treats of an aboriginal tribe named the Benuas. Might I ask also for a perusal of what Dr. Stevenson has written in the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal* on the ante-Brahmanical worship of the Hindus. . . .

"I suppose you have been much interested by your visit to your old college friend (Rev. Hugh Mitchell, now Rev. Dr. Mitchell of Craig) to whom I would beg to send my kind regards and congratulations on his important discoveries. Perhaps you may be bringing south a few fishes of the old world that you may have fallen in with in your explorations; I should like much to see them, and, if they are not very scarce, get one too."

"EDINBURGH, *7th December* 1859.— . . . I have received the drawings of the Intertrappean shells, which Oldham promised, along with lithographs of some of his Rajmahal plant remains. Among the former he names a good many Achatinæ, in which I do not believe, as they are obviously the same as our Limnæa. He multiplies species among the Paludinæ. The only ones which have not been obtained at Nagpoor are what he calls Bulimus Deucalion and Cyclos (Pisidium) Hislopiana. The former I do not understand; the latter I have found as a cast from the Haidarabad territory, though I have not described it. The Rajmahal Flora is pretty, but it seems to me that one of our Tæniopteris (the large broad one) from the blocks of Kamthi is like one of his. This gives rise to the inquiry, Are the blocks of that locality embedded in the upper sandstone from different formations? . . ."

"OLNEY, NEWPORT PAGNELL, 31*st August* 1860.— . . . The crops are as late as in the south of Scotland. They are good, but God has been withholding the weather for gathering them in—rather cutting them down, to teach us our helplessness and our entire dependence upon Him. May we not also see in the present position of affairs marks of the Divine displeasure on account of our many provocations? We surely need to be humbled, and brought to the Lord in deep contrition. The state of religion here is very unsatisfactory. In former days Olney was highly favoured in regard to gospel privileges. In it or around there lived and laboured such men as Cowper, John Newton, Thomas Scott, Sutcliff the Baptist minister, the friend of Carey and Andrew Fuller. But now in the Episcopal Church the gold has become dim. Baptismal regeneration is the doctrine of the pulpit, and formalism is the worship of the people. Error is creeping into the Dissenting bodies, and there seems to be no power in their system of church polity to drive it out. . . .

"I have received letters from Carter and Oldham. The former has been sadly prostrated by fever, and proposes leaving India for good in October. He says Dr. Leith has discovered footprints of another frog on the Bombay shales. At the meeting of the Asiatic Society he ingeniously dipped the feet of various living frogs in ink, and caused them to leap over paper, by which he determined the size of the Batrachian that had travelled over the ancient mud. He thus demonstrated that it must have been larger than *Rana pusilla*, and similar to one of which a bone had been found, as mentioned in Carter's *Geological Papers of West India*, p. 129, note. Dr. Carter has obtained an addition to his fossil Foraminifers from the Khelat Valley, and increased his knowledge of the geology of the Persian Gulf. . . . Oldham's letter is chiefly a defence of what he has recently done. In reference to my having supposed the Ceratodus bed tertiary from its mineral characters, he says that so far is this supposition from being discreditable to me, that it is precisely what any one wishing to arrive at truth would put forward prominently as an instance of the caution required in admitting that sort of evidence. He forgets it is one thing to publish a mistake corrected by myself, and another thing for a second party, who had corrected it, to drag it forward.

"He states that he was totally unaware of the fact that I had been the first to call Schlagintweit's attention to the occurrence of Physæ in the Rajamahendri beds. He ought to have known that this occurrence there was published before Schlagintweit's visit to India. There is one point on which he expresses regret, viz. that I have changed his

names given to the two shells described from the Narbada. These along with many others are printed in the Report on that district. I did not advert to these names standing in that publication, which is just about to appear if it is not already out of the press. The great majority of them should be superseded and consigned to well-merited oblivion. I do not regret, for he had no business to name things which had been found so long before at Nagpoor, more especially after stating in his report that it was premature to enter on the Palæontology of the Intertrappean Formation; but if I had thought of his unavailing irritation regarding so many species, I should not have given him an opportunity of complaining of hard treatment regarding the two above referred to.

"I have had one or two letters from Mr. Benson, Sankey's father-in-law, at Cheltenham. He speaks of fresh discoveries by one of his sons stationed at Quilon. He was inclined to think that the shell which I have named Valvata multicarinata is allied to bithinia Marzinata. The latter shell I have found abundantly in the pools at Nagpoor, but though ribbed and decussated like the fossil shell, yet in regard to the form of its umbilicus it is very different. The Bithinia has a mere *rima*, whereas the fossil has the true valvate perforation. Being in London lately I had almost called on Dr. H. Falconer, but my time would not permit. However, I wrote to him and received from him a very friendly reply, with Colonel Twemlow's notes on his discoveries of pachydermatous bones at Paithan on the Godavari, and a drawing of the locality. I have since sent him sketches of the bones from Phizdura, which were lost. I hope he will be able to form some conjecture as to what they were. While in London I met at Somerset House with a M. Gaudin from Switzerland, a friend of Heer's. He had heard of our tertiary plants, and was interested in them. He said Heer would be happy to describe them. . . ."

Towards the close of 1859 Mr. Hislop had recovered strength, and from December for the next ten months before his return to India, he gave himself to the continuance of Dr. Duff's work of founding a missionary association in every congregation of his Church. In the great Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, covering the south-west of Scotland, in the neighbouring Synod of Dumfries, and throughout Forfarshire, he was instant in addressing presbyteries and visiting congregations. Probably never since the evangelical revival began

with foreign missions in 1830 had the missionary fire burned so low in Scotland as at this time. The Mutiny, following Dr. Duff's organising crusade, had given an impulse which raised the income from Free Church of Scotland sources at home, for foreign missions to men and women, to £20,000. In 1859-60, the next year, the amount fell to £17,000. It now stands, from the same home sources alone, at £50,000 a year. The ardent missionary who had returned from fourteen years of toil to plead with his countrymen to send out more evangelists to India, at least to Nagpoor which they had starved, was introduced to the largest synod in the country by one whose duty it was to reproach his brethren, because one representative congregation of 400 members gave at the rate of 1¼d. a year from each communicant to foreign missions, while it spent £600 on other objects. Hislop's heart burned within him, and he spoke with the natural eloquence born of a righteous and sad passion, when he said:—

"When the news of the Indian revolt reached this land, you are aware, sir, how deep and general was the interest which it excited. Leading statesmen and leading journals began to condemn the unchristian policy pursued towards our Eastern possessions; and the Churches seemed fairly awakened to a sense of their duty. When this intelligence was brought back to India, the heart of many a missionary was comforted in his trials—he was cheered by the hope that justice was at last to be done to that land. . . . Rulers and journals have returned to their old policy, and many of the Churches have fallen back into their previous lethargy. It is true some of the missionary societies in the south have increased their agency in India, and our United Presbyterian brethren have commenced a mission there; but I regret to say that our own Church has not added a single missionary to its former number, and though the contributions for missions considerably rose the first year of the revolt, yet there

was a considerable fall last year, and a still greater this year. . . . That outbreak was intended to punish us for past neglect, and it might have terminated in our expulsion from the land; but instead of that God, after having shown us how easily he might deprive us of our hold of India, has given it back to us in more favourable circumstances than before. The disturbances, instead of hindering the progress of the Gospel, have been overruled for its furtherance. In the neighbourhood of Meerut, where they first broke out, tracts were left in a village, and many of the inhabitants have been baptized. In a Sikh regiment, which found some Christian publications among the plunder of Delhi, there has sprung up a great desire for spiritual instruction, and many of the Sepoys have been added to the Church. Around Delhi hundreds, chiefly of the lower classes, are ready to embrace Christianity. . . .

"If, then, the lessons of God's providence lead us to take a livelier interest in the spiritual welfare of India, it will be well; but if not, then I fear we may be visited with chastisements still more severe than we have yet suffered. India once fell under the power of the Mohammedans, but they had not the Gospel to give, and it was torn from their grasp. Then the whole coast was occupied by the ships and forts of the Portuguese; but they had not the pure Word of God to furnish to the natives, and their connection with the country has almost ceased. France, about a century ago, disputed with us the sovereignty of that empire; but France, whether Popish or infidel, could not fulfil the trust that it would impose on her, and it was committed to Christian Protestant Britain. And if Christian Protestant Britain will not rise up to the discharge of its responsibility—if our Churches will not improve the merciful day of their visitation, there is great reason to fear that our hold of India, like that of the nations which have preceded us, will come to an end, and the inheritance be given to another people that shall bring forth

the fruits of righteousness. I have not referred to Africa, but the wants of our missions there are very clamant. Let all our ministers then and all our people put it seriously to themselves, whether their efforts in this cause are proportioned to their ability—proportioned to the claims which India and heathendom have on their Christian sympathy—and, above all, proportioned to the obligations under which they lie to that Saviour whose command it was to go into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature."

This "lukewarmness of the Churches in respect of Our Grand Commission" roused representative men in Liverpool and in Scotland, chiefly laymen like the Earl of Shaftesbury, to summon a Conference on Christian Missions, which Henry Carre Tucker, aided by the now venerable G. D. Cullen, organised in that city in March 1860. The philanthropic Earl, then in the vigour of his powers though verging on sixty years of age, never did better service than when he presided over the thousands who crowded the Philharmonic Hall. Of the hundred and twenty-five members, the three most remarkable, as time has proved, were Sir Herbert Edwardes, fresh from his triumphs at Mooltan and Peshawur, and still in the mid-time of a career which has captivated John Ruskin; Sir Donald M'Leod, who was then Judicial Commissioner in the Panjab; and Stephen Hislop. The first carried away the grave assembly more than once by the torrent of an eloquence which was always based on common-sense and fired by divine grace. To the second and third, who had begun the work among the Gonds of Central India, silence was golden. Donald M'Leod broke it in the presence of the Rajpoot minister, the Rev. Behari Lal Singh, whom he had sent to Dr. Duff, only to advocate that we should no longer exclude the bulk of the people from the management of their own affairs, in the Church above all, but also in the State. Stephen Hislop read no paper, but four times he was

moved to contribute his ripe experience to the discussions. Lord Shaftesbury summed up the whole practical difficulty when he said of India, as to which the terror of the Mutiny had led statesmen like Lord Palmerston to declare that only the Christianising of the people would save our empire, and then had recoiled into Government neutrality:—"Recollect that Government neutrality will shortly become national neutrality, and that Government sin will shortly become national sin. Neutrality is a word you may read in the dictionary, and neutrality is a thing you may find in the grammar, but neutrality in the moral life of a man is a thing that cannot have existence. Neutrality in religion is *impossible*. . . . If a man believes, he is bound, by every consideration of heaven and earth, with all his soul, with all his heart, with all his mind, to labour that the Word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified."

Hislop's first remark in the Conference was a chivalrous defence of the Rev. John Anderson, who was not familiar with the native languages even at the end of his life, but, notwithstanding, "had laboured quite as successfully as most missionaries in India." While he held that every missionary should learn the language in the first year, he would not assert that it would be an essential qualification for every man and in all circumstances, nor say that some missionaries could not be useful without it. On the subject of the best means of exciting and maintaining a missionary spirit, he advocated the formation of an association in every congregation "for the reception of missionary intelligence, for the giving of contributions, and for engaging in united prayer." His own forming of such an organisation in a congregation of Forfar fisher-folk had been marked by a remarkable outpouring of God's Spirit, as we shall see. The poor fishermen, who had only recently themselves tasted of the grace of God, had entered into this grand work of diffusing over

the whole world the salvation which they had thus experienced.

Mr. Hislop and Mr. Hunter had introduced into Central India a system of Bible colportage, under which Christian literature was sold to and consequently prized by native readers all over the country. He showed how they had followed it up for about thirteen years, and found it attended with the best results. They now sold as many tracts as ever they could have given away gratuitously, and they had always the gratification of knowing that the tracts were prized, and preserved, and read, with an interest that could not be inspired in any other way. He thought the Christian Vernacular Education Society would be a blessing to the people. At Nagpoor they could not complain of the Government education, for there was none to complain of. There had not been an attempt of the smallest kind made by the Government to enlighten the natives. It is sad to think that the paucity of readers is so very great. There are five districts into which the province is divided; and in the most cultivated of these perhaps the proportion of readers to non-readers is about one to two hundred; but in other districts, where the hill tribes reside, the proportion is far less. It may be one to six or eight hundred. Only one reader to eight hundred people! It is the plan of the Vernacular Education Society that, when a native teacher is trained, he is sent forth to establish a school, which shall be supported by the fees of the pupils. Here, however, arises a serious practical difficulty; for it is exactly where the educational destitution is greatest that the demand for learning, and, consequently, the willingness to support a teacher, is least. "I should rejoice if our Church could increase her agency, and do more to supply the distressing want of Christian instruction that exists at Nagpoor."

A discussion on the importance of training the native

churches to be self-supporting, led Mr. Hislop to draw attention to the difference of national character between the Hindu or Buddhist and the Aboriginal races. Whatever the Hindus might become after they had surmounted the evil effects of systems, under which they had been crushed for centuries, at present they are a dependent, feeble, and deceitful race, while the hill tribes are manly, energetic, and truthful. Even in Burma, to which M'Leod had referred, the experience of their American Baptist brethren had by no means been uniform. Among the Karens they had found a people, as it were, prepared of the Lord. Not only were these mountaineers, by their traditions and freedom from priestly institutions, placed in circumstances favourable for the reception of the truth, but, after they had embraced it, by the remarkable energy of their character, directed by God's grace, they were fitted for communicating it far and wide over their native hills. But among the Burmese, in the plains, it was well known there had been no such general willingness to receive the gospel—no such exemplary zeal in diffusing it; and if this had been the case with Buddhists, who were unfettered by caste, was it wonderful that it should have been so with Hindus, whose individuality and independence had been will-nigh annihilated by the working of that iniquitous system? He would rejoice to see native Christians in India gradually accustomed to independent action. Since 1860 his own and other Churches had made great progress in this direction, which the Church Council system of virtual presbytery now encourages in the Anglican Native Church.

The allusion to the fisher-folk of Forfarshire was called forth by a remarkable revival of religion in the Free Church of Scotland's congregation at Craig, or Ferryden, on the shore of the mouth of the Esk, opposite to Montrose, previous to and during Mr. Hislop's missionary visit. The minister, who

succeeded the brother of Sir David Brewster in the charge, was, and is still, the Rev. Hugh Mitchell, LL.D., who had been at the Aberdeen meeting of the British Association with Mr. Hislop and Mr. Hunter. He is a Geologist of deservedly high reputation. On returning to Ferryden Manse, he found that the facts of a spiritual revival in Ulster were being discussed by the more godly among the people, who were stirred up to seek for a similar outpouring of the Spirit of God on themselves and their neighbours. Some remarkable conversions followed, and a general anxiety about spiritual things was diffused. In November 1859, Mr. Grant of Arndilly delivered an address to the people, under which, for the first time, several cases of prostration occurred. Dr. Hugh Mitchell and others held a service every night for upwards of a week, when illness caused his temporary removal, and his place was taken by a succession of ministers. To Mr. Hislop was assigned the duty of supplying the services during February 1860, seeing that he had previously arranged to visit the congregation in order to form in it a quarterly missionary association. Dr. Hugh Mitchell, who by that time was convalescent, wrote to him: "I can conceive of no more appropriate and happy part of the revival."

Mr. Hislop at once set himself to master the facts of the spiritual movement and the bodily manifestations, by visiting from house to house in the parish and the neighbouring hamlets and islands, by dealing with cases which had occurred before his arrival and during his evangelising, and by incessant preaching in public and private. As at once a master in spiritual experience free from all fanaticism, and a truth-seeker and cautious observer accustomed to the methods and the evidence of Natural Science, he was more competent to report on such a movement and to guide it than perhaps any who have written on such revivals. His conclusions were emphatically those of such writers as Samuel Ruther-

ford,[1] Jonathan Edwards, Dr. John Erskine,[2] and Sir Henry Moncreiff, Erskine's biographer. Dr. John Erskine, eldest son of John Erskine of Carnock, was the model minister and gentleman commended by Sir Walter Scott in *Guy Mannering*. He witnessed the revival of 1742 when a student in divinity, and his equally judicious biographer pronounces his pamphlet a temperate and well-merited rebuke of those who attempted to explain away the work of the Spirit of God, by ascribing it to mere physical excitement or wild fanaticism. This is Hislop's report of what he found on taking charge of Ferryden for a month. His daily letters to his wife in Edinburgh show that he had personally studied every individual case of visions and physical prostrations. Of the former he wrote to his wife: "Like you, I do not like the visions; but they are nervous, not Satanic. No doubt much is due to weakness of body and nervous excitability. And when the attacks are so frequent, I think they are far from desirable. The prostrations are not to be classed with the visions:"[3]—

"The sensation experienced on these occasions was described to me by some as a weight at the heart, and by others as a mountain of darkness before their eyes, which came nearer and nearer them until it knocked them over. Generally, a few days at the furthest after the prostration, relief was obtained by believing in the Saviour, and the cases of conversion have been tested by the subsequent walk, which, so far as I am aware, is altogether according to the gospel. More recently bodily manifestations have disappeared and the work is entirely spiritual. Young and old have been made the subjects of grace. One day as I was walking along a street in Ferryden, visiting several of the houses, a boy not more than seven years of age looked up in my face, and in a very gentle tone said that his mother would be glad to

[1] On *The Real Influence of Spiritual Operations on the Body*, prefixed to his *Survey of the Spiritual Antichrist*.

[2] On *The Signs of the Times*. See also Robe's *Narrative of the Revival of Religion* at Kilsyth, Cambuslang, and other places, in 1742, with Essay by Dr. Robert Buchanan (Collins, 1840), and Dr. D. Macfarlan's *Revivals of the Eighteenth Century*, with Sermons by George Whitefield.

[3] See also his sermon on *Temptations of the Awakened and Converted*. Montrose, 1860.

see me. I followed him to his house, but on entering found that though his mother was quite glad to see me, the invitation proceeded from himself, and not from her. He wished to have some conversation with the minister about Jesus, whom he loves and recommends to his little companions. A girl one evening listened to a discourse on the cleansing of the leper, who approached Christ with the words, 'Lord, if Thou wilt Thou canst make me clean.'—Matt. viii. 2. The minister pointed out that there was no uncertainty about the Saviour's willingness to cleanse the soul. The girl went home and was enabled that night to lay hold on Jesus; and next day speaking of her exercise of mind the previous evening, she remarked, 'I took the *if* out of it sitting by my granny's fireside.'

"A young woman was brought under anxiety of soul when listening to a sermon on the Canaanitish woman and her daughter. When she heard of the deep humility which marked those applicants to our Lord; their counting themselves as dogs, and their readiness to pick up the crumbs which fell from the children's table, she said within herself, 'I have long been wishing to be good, but I never made myself as low as that yet.' Soon after that she accompanied some friends to a distance to an evening service. As she took her seat in the church she lifted up a prayer to God that He would have mercy on her that night, and enable her to drive Satan from her so that she might see Jesus as her Saviour. The preacher, before he gave out his text, addressed his congregation in a few earnest remarks. 'Sinner, sinner, sinner,' said he, 'art thou prepared to meet thy Judge should He call thee away this night?' She inwardly replied, No, she felt herself a condemned criminal at God's tribunal, and then the church seemed to be filled with darkness. From that time she was absorbed in her own meditations, so that she did not hear the text, or catch a word of the discourse. But before the congregation dismissed that passage of Scripture rose to her mind—'Believe in the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved.' She believed, and immediately the church was in a blaze of light. On the way home her companions observed that she was happy; but she said nothing of the change that had come over her, as she wished to be sure of its reality first. But when she reached her house she could contain herself no longer, and burst out—'Oh! mother, I have got a gift this night which all the world cannot give or take away.' The father, who had gone to bed, called to her to take care lest she should go mad, but now both father and mother and brother are rejoicing with her in Jesus.

"The following is the case of a young man. He found peace one evening at church. Returning home, he with a companion, who had shared in the blessing, called at the house of an acquaintance who had long been a Christian. Seizing him with one hand and lifting up the other to heaven, 'Oh! the new Jerusalem!' said he; 'Oh! the blessedness of singing with saints and angels. Oh, I am happy, happy. How much of my time have I spent in dancing and other vain pleasures? But now all these things are gone—gone for ever.' It was not long after this memorable night that this lad formed part of a boat's crew that proceeded about sixteen miles from the coast to fish. While they were about this distance from land it was the duty of the young man's uncle to hold the sail. As he was so engaged, the Spirit of God visited his soul with such an overpowering influence, that he could not remain longer at his post; but calling for a neighbour to take his place, he lay down on the bottom of the boat. And now the nephew, who had obtained enlargement so shortly before began to sing to him some of the sweet songs of Zion. The second that he selected was the 40th Psalm, which was so greatly delighted in by the Ulster converts. He had not finished the second verse before his uncle's soul was filled with joy; and all the boat's crew joined in the new song, which the Lord had put into his mouth; and there was nothing but the voice of melody to be heard all the way from that spot until they set foot on land. 'That,' said the nephew to me, 'was the happiest day I ever spent on earth.' But that very night, to keep him humble, a messenger of Satan was sent to buffet him. His soul was filled with great darkness and doubt for the space of an hour. When the temptation came on, his mother went to the Christian friend at whose house her son had called on the night of his conversion; but before he could come to the young man's assistance the cloud had passed away, and the light of his Father's countenance had again begun to shine into his soul. On this occasion the mother remarked that Satan had gone to the dancing room, and finding her son out of his accustomed place had come upon him with all his might, if haply he might again bring him under his sway and the dominion of old habits. But God's grace was stronger than all the devil's assaults; and the young man continues steadfast unto this day.

"Now take the case of an old man. There was a fisherman, who up to a few months ago had led a very ungodly life. He was notorious for his drunkenness and profanity, and of all men seemed the least likely to come under the power of the gospel. One night after I had addressed a prayer meeting he was observed to be deeply affected, and

when I spoke to him at its close the tears were trickling down his wrinkled cheeks. He was still groaning under the burden of his sins when I left him. Three days afterwards I returned to the village, and meanwhile the old man had obtained relief by reading the closing verses of 1 John i. I found him overflowing with joy, and it was very touching to hear this man now upwards of seventy years of age speaking of himself as only two days old. The work still goes on. The last day that I was in the village of Ferryden I learned that two women had found the Saviour that morning; one Mrs. Baxter, the mother of a family, calmly resting on Jesus as her only hope, followed by her daughter Jean; and the other a young woman, Helen West, scarcely able to repress her exultation. A Christian man, Robert Curll, that day seeing the great joy possessed by the latter made it a subject of prayer that he might share in the blessing. Next day while he was fishing his desire was granted, and his soul was filled with holy gladness. Thus does God prove himself to be the hearer and answerer of prayer."

To the permanence of the change wrought in the picturesque fishing village and its neighbourhood in 1859-60 the present writer can bear indirect testimony. Twenty-two years after, he visited it in ignorance of all this, and in the interest of foreign missions. The whole adult male population were about to sail, towards midnight, for the fishing in the North Sea, which so often strews their rugged coasts with wrecks, and sacrifices themselves. In all the experience of many years and meetings he has never seen a gathering more inspiriting, devout, enthusiastic. The immediate result was the adding of 104 to the roll of communicants in November 1859, and of 40 in June 1860, so that 430 men and women were members of that one congregation out of a gross population in the parish of 1930 souls, old and young, adherents of the Established as well as of the Free Church of Scotland.

The part taken by the apostle of Central India, during his sick leave, in evangelising an obscure fishing village of Scotland, and guiding its new-found spiritual life away from physical excitement to spiritual self-sacrifice for others, is another of the many illustrations of the reflex influence of

Foreign and Home Missions. The modern missionary enterprise began in the Kilsyth and Cambuslang revivals of 1742, parallel with the Moravian movement in Germany, the *Marrow* awakening of Boston, and the secessions from the Old Church of Scotland.

The ministers and people who received new light at Cambuslang formed the first "Concert of Prayer that God's Kingdom may come," and after two years' experience of its blessedness invited their brethren in New England to join them, whence the appeal of Jonathan Edwards which helped William Carey at Moulton. A century after, at the same place—Kilsyth, the next revival consecrated for the China Mission of the Presbyterian Church of England its founder, William C. Burns, M.A., who became the means of sending out Hislop himself to India. And to this day Ferryden bears fruit for the foreign fields from the seed which Hislop there sowed. And not only Ferryden. In the little hamlet of Usan, to the south, he knew that he had been the means of bringing fourteen souls to Christ. When he left these places the people followed him with their blessings, and his temporary successor, the Rev. W. B. Alexander, continued to report for months the good work of God.

From scenes like these Stephen Hislop went to the Liverpool Missionary Conference, and then to the General Assembly in Edinburgh. Principal Cunningham was the retiring, and Dr. Robert Buchanan the new, Moderator. The latter descanted on the movement which had been "stirring to their inmost depths multitudes of people in our own land," as one which had been subjected to a closer and more searching scrutiny than any other recorded. Mr. Hislop again represented Bombay Presbytery, with Dr. Hugh Miller of Shandon as elder. The only other missionaries present were the Rev. Behari Lal Singh, from Bengal, and the Rev. James Laing, from Burnshill, Kafraria. Colonel Shortrede, of the

Bombay Service, having told of his first introduction to the Scottish Mission there thirty-seven years before, and its history since, and having reproached Scotland for apathy since the Mutiny, Mr. Hislop took up the tale of Nagpoor in 1857:—

"The province contains nearly five millions of souls; and for this vast population only two missionaries have been set apart; in other words, there will be years when, from sickness and the like causes, there will be only one. In three years, between the departure of one beloved brother, whose resignation I never cease to regret, and the arrival of another, who has been carrying on the work with great devotedness, I was alone with the care of English churches and native churches, instructing the young in schools, and the adults in bazaars and villages. Gladly would we do more in the way of village preaching; but how can we do so unless the headquarters of the mission be strengthened? We long to do something for the Gonds. Their language requires to be reduced to shape; books have to be written in it, and the Bible translated into it; but how can all this be attempted when our hands are more than full already? And yet these hill tribes, distinguished for their natural truthfulness and independence, — without caste, without venerated sacred works, without a tyrannical priesthood, and almost without idols,—afford a very promising field for missionary exertion. They are allied to the people of Chutia Nagpoor, among whom the Gospel has been greatly blessed, and are similar to the Karens, of whom so many thousands have been admitted into the Christian Church. But to the five millions of Nagpoor we must add the nine millions of Haidarabad, and the six millions of other contiguous districts,—all without a single European missionary from any Church,—and we have an aggregate of twenty millions, for whom the whole provision made by Christians of every denomination is two European missionaries. Two European missionaries for twenty millions

of perishing souls! Do we not blush to think of it? The late troubles were sent to teach us a lesson of greater faithfulness. Have we learned it? All the English societies have increased their agency. Has the Free Church increased hers? Nay, is it not a fact, sir, that we have fewer missionaries now than before the revolt? And yet never was India so prepared to receive Christian truth as it is at this present moment. The disturbances have been overruled so as to humble Mussulman pride, and relax the rigour of Hindu caste; and now in the North of India we hear of more inquirers after Christ than ever before. . . . If the Church of our fathers, reanimated with the faith, and zeal, and liberality of 1843, shall go forth to fight the battles of the Lord, and assail the strongholds of sin and Satan at home and abroad, she will find fulfilled in her blessed experience the promise of her Divine King, 'Them that honour me, I will honour.'"

The next six months passed away, only too rapidly as it seemed, in forming missionary associations and visiting his kindred and his wife's at Olney. Leaving their daughters at Arbroath, on 14th November 1860 the missionary father and mother turned eastward. To Mr. Hunter he wrote from time to time :—

"London, *29th November* 1860.

"My Dear Brother—We never left more comfortably than we did on the evening of Wednesday, in so far as packing was concerned. But there was many a pang in parting from dear friends, whom we may never see again. I pray the Lord may guide and bless you wherever you are, though I still cling to the hope that you may see it to be the path of duty to return to the East. Early on Saturday morning we propose starting for Folkestone on our way to Paris, where we hope to spend Sabbath and part of Monday. The steamer sails from Marseilles on the evening of Wednesday the 5th. . . . Rupert says Professor Phillips has not been in town for some months, and consequently has not seen the slab. There seems to be no intention of sending it to Oxford. R. thinks that the Xylobius of Burdie-

house is new, and that you ought to give a description of it. Hugh Mitchell has sent a paper to the Geological Society on the old Red of his vicinity. I find it is out of my power in the meantime to write anything about the sandstone of Nagpoor, though I wish to say a few words. And now, commending you to God and the Word of His grace,—I am, yours very affectionately, S. HISLOP."

"NAGPOOR, *6th March* 1861.— . . . At Bombay we stayed with Dr. Wilson, who seems to be as active as ever in his varied occupations. He stands much in need of help, for the only other ordained European at the station is not able to do much. The Free Church in the evenings is very well filled. At Poona we lived with Dr. M. Mitchell, under whom, in conjunction with Mr. Gardner, the Institution is outwardly very prosperous. Mr. White's society also we enjoyed. He works most harmoniously with the Free Church brethren. He preaches in the villages in the plains, joining his family once a week. He is not connected with any society. At Seroor we found Mr. and Mrs. Bisset. Mr. and Mrs. Ballantine and Miss Farrar seem to be identified with Ahmednagar. They are most excellent people. . . . The railway carries us still no farther than Poona. From that we travelled in a bullock-cart, changing bullocks all the way here. We arrived at our old abode on 30th January, having left Poona on the 10th. We were accompanied by a Mr. Ker, a grandson of Claudius Buchanan, who is likely to be employed as a railway engineer. His cart was twice upset by the way; but we escaped all such catastrophes until we were entering Sitabaldi village, where we met Mr. Stothert on horseback. Our village bullocks, frightened at the unusual sound of cantering, started off, and threw us into a prickly hedge. Most merciful preservation, for had they run on another yard they would have dragged us over a bridge. Baba, Ramswami, Khempuri (the lad who stayed for a few days with David Anand in our compound), and another, had met us at Gumganni; and they helped us to put the cart again on its wheels, and we walked through Sitabaldi to our bungalow. We found the native church prosperous. . . . Our new school (now Hislop College) on the bund of the Tank is not nearly finished yet, and I have to attend to it. Our English services are better attended than formerly, owing to the presence of the 91st Regiment in Kamthi and a considerable increase in the population of Sitabaldi. Mr. Stothert has got on very well with the language.

"On the voyage out I wrote something for the Geological Society on the age of the Nagpoor sandstone and coal. I have since read a

report by Oldham, who argues for a much greater antiquity. I have begun to doubt, on the ground that some of the fossils in the Kamthi blocks may be of one age, and others of another. What has Professor Balfour done?"

"NAGPOOR, 21*st August* 1861.—I was glad to receive your letter from Corsock. . . . I hope the bud is now expanding into the fruit of holiness. It will interest us much here to learn what the Lord is doing among you in Galloway. It seems as if the interest in vital religion were still on the increase at home. From Ferryden I had a letter by last mail. Some that had made a profession at the commencement of the work had become cold, but these are exceptional cases, while new additions were being made to the Church of such as shall be saved. Here we have few signs of spiritual life. Our countrymen in Sitabaldi are not so opposed to the truth as they were three years ago, when we were surrounded by a strong body of infidels. Though Captain (now Lieutenant-Colonel) E. K. Elliot is Commissioner, and Major Spence, Judicial Commissioner; and Major Snow, Deputy Commissioner, yet we have some friends among the Europeans of the station. . . . We have got a flourishing Sabbath School also here, which is attended both by European and native children. . . . Mr. Stothert has made excellent progress in the languages, of which he is learning three at once—Marathi, Urdu, and Sanskrit. He has also the charge of the English school, but it is not prospering at present. . . . Yesterday I was favoured by Rupert with a proof-sheet of my paper which is to appear in the August number of the Geological Society's *Journal*. My remarks would have been spared, had it not been that I wished to stir up Bunbury. They had the desired effect. Otherwise they are imperfect, written as they were on board the steamer without books, and especially without having seen Oldham's vol. ii. part 2. If I had had a sight of that publication previously I would have written a little more intelligently, and placed the coal not higher than the Trias. Blanford has been examining the Raniganj Basin, and he finds there three distinct groups of rocks overlying each other unconformably:—1. Panchet group, including upper, 500 feet; lower Panchets, 1500 feet. 2. Damuda group, comprehending Raniganj series, 5000 feet; Ironstones, 1500 feet; and Lower Damudas, 2000 feet. 3. Talchir group, 800 feet. The last, which are the lowest, agree in age with those in Orissa, which contain probably the same as our Korhadi shale. All the Damuda rocks, *I suppose*, embed Glossopteris, but the upper or Raniganj series exhibit a peculiar plant, which Oldham reckons a Schizoneura. The lower Panchets are

remarkable for their reptilian remains (Labyrinthodonts and Dicnyodonts and Estheria) which is believed to be identical with our Mangali one. So that this discovery gives a clue to the position of the Mangali red sandstone. If you read Medlicott's paper on the Narbada Territory, you would see that he was grouping the rocks that lie above the before mentioned. Besides the Mahadewas (an imbedded sandstone) he makes a group of Lametas, which are evidently the 'bridge' and allied strata. I had been inclined to think the 'bridge' the soft state of the 'iron-banded,' but a recent visit to Kamthi quarries led me to form the idea that the 'bridge' of a purple colour there lies unconformably above the Mahadewas. It appeared to me that the former was filling up a hollow of the latter. I therefore intend submitting to Indian geologists the propriety of giving up the present nomenclature of Lameta and Intertrappean, for both names proceed on an erroneous conception that these two are distinct formations, whereas I consider them to be the same, the same shells being in the Intertrappean, and there being no break in the stratification from the top of the subtrappean to the Mahadewas. For this group, including (1) the Intertrappean zone of deposit on our trap escarpments, (2) purple and green of Takli, and (3) the bridge, I would suggest the name of Takli. What think you of my boldness?"

On 31st January 1861, when Stephen Hislop, in the strength which is born of the joy of the Lord, entered on his second period of missionary labour and scientific recreation, he was in his forty-fourth year. Restored in health, abounding in elastic energy, full of hope, spiritually most vigorous, all round he was in the perfection of his powers. He had, however, less than three years to live. Into that brief portion he crowded the achievements of a lifetime as effectually as if he had been told divinely the measure of his days. He had learned to live day by day. Of him more than of any spiritual worker the lines were true:—

"In secret love the Master
To each one whispers low,
'I am at hand, work faster,
Behold the sunset glow!'
And each one smileth sweet
Who hears the Master's feet."

CHAPTER X

A REFORMER OF THE CIVIL ADMINISTRATION

From Bombay to Nagpoor—The Salt Lake of Lonar—Hislop's work as a Reformer of the Civil Administration—The Non-Regulation Provinces—His opinion of Mr. Plowden, who consults him as to Education—Plowden's successor worse still—The *Friend of India* takes up the question, informed by Hislop—Its relation to the Government of India—Decree constituting the Central Provinces—Sir Richard Temple appointed Chief Commissioner—His opinion of Stephen Hislop—Reforms and prosperity come at last—The first Annual Administration Report—Hislop's satisfaction—Geological correspondence—The new Land Settlement—Growth of the Central Provinces in a Generation—Moral progress as tested by excise and schools—Hislop would make Haidarabad a Mission offshoot—Tour west to Berar—Letter to Rev. Dr. W. Hanna—Immediate fruit of nineteen years' labour—Point to which his Mission has now grown—Educational Missions—Last letter to his brother—Last of the inhuman practices abolished—Visit of Bishop Cotton—Hislop's last missionary act to open new schools.

STEPHEN HISLOP returned to India still a young man, and therefore without such honours from his own University as are too often reserved for extreme old age. On the day after Christmas, 1860, he and his wife were welcomed by Dr. John Wilson at the pier of Bombay, and driven off to the ever hospitable "cliff" on Malabar Hill. There were found many other guests—the Rev. Dr. and Mrs. Robson, on their way to Rajpootana; Mr. and Mrs. Young from Surat, with several children, homeward bound; and the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Wallace. The three great Presbyterian Missions of Scotland and Ireland were thus represented. The universal Concert for Prayer in the first week of 1861 kept him there

at Poona, Seroor, and Ahmednagar. Some newly-discovered Buddhist caves detained him at Aurangabad, and divine service at Jalna. When marching through Berar he turned aside to see the salt lake of Lonar, forty miles north-east of Jalna, where also are temples of monoliths which the natives believe to have been raised in one night by demons who forced Hemar Pant, the Cornelius Agrippa of the Dekhan, to find work for them. The lake is an isolated circular hollow, about a mile in diameter, from 300 to 400 feet deep, and without an outlet. Its salts are used by the people for dyeing and washing. Its origin is ascribed to volcanic explosion long after the epoch of the Dekhan trap. On the 31st January he resumed his missionary duties with renewed enthusiasm and success, as the few brief years hurried on.

He was used by God, unconsciously on his part, to reform the whole civil administration, and to bring into existence the Chief Commissionership of the Central Provinces of India under officials of high personal character and splendid energy.

When the Marquis of Dalhousie added a third to the empire of British India, in the eight years of his administration, he kept the new territories free from the legal complexity of the East India Company's Regulations. The vast Provinces of the Panjab, Lower Burma, Oudh, Berar, and Nagpoor he and his Council declared to be "Non-Regulation," on a system first devised by Sir Henry Durand in Tenasserim. Short codes of law and procedure were administered by military and civil officers, according to conscience, until our new and warlike subjects could be disarmed and taught the blessings of personal rule by Christian gentlemen. The Company's regulations were inelastic and dilatory enough for the old provinces which had been under our sway since Lord Cornwallis; these laws were the direct cause of rebellion in the few districts where the military mutiny merged into that more serious form. Our experience of the Non-Regulation system enabled

that great jurist, Sir Henry Maine, to elaborate the Codes of Law and Procedure for all India, which now work with singular perfection, save where the land assessment is too heavy and the law of debt is mercilessly applied.

It is evident that the Non-Regulation system requires able men for its righteous application, and wise control on the part of the Chief and Judicial Commissioners. Otherwise it may become an unmitigated curse. Now Lord Dalhousie chose out of all India the ablest officials, military men like Sir Henry Lawrence and civilians like Sir John Lawrence, and their staff, for the Panjab, and so saved India in 1857, and made the civilisation of that Province the greatest triumph of the English rule of subject races in all history. He repeated the experiment in Burma and Oudh under Sir Arthur Phayre and Sir Robert Montgomery. But he left Nagpoor and Berar to men who were not fit for the more important frontier provinces conquered in war or annexed for terrible misrule—to men of whom Mansel and Plowden were the best, and the rest are characterised in what follows. It is enough to say that, so far as these administrators were concerned, Nagpoor was in a worse state than when a Maratha kingdom under the firm hand of Sir Richard Jenkins.

From Captain G. Ramsay to Colonel E. K. Elliot, Stephen Hislop had no hostility to the men. He found that he could do most good by privately influencing them, save when he had to call in public opinion to sever the British Government from idolatry and intolerance. Writing in November 1856 to his brother, after Lord Dalhousie had called on the Nagpoor and all other authorities to report on the application of the Company's Education Despatch of 1854 to the schools of the Province, he mentions that Mr. Plowden had consulted him as to a reply. That admirable Despatch, as developed by Lord Ripon's Commission, and by Lord Dufferin's official declaration on the last day of 1887, that the establishment of more

Christian schools and colleges is earnestly desired, provided that "Government were to establish as few schools of their own as possible, but to encourage by grants a sound secular course of training, though it were combined, as in the case of a Mission school, with Christianity. This I endeavoured to apply to the circumstances of the Nagpoor territory in a sketch which Mr. Plowden asked me to draw out. The next subject was the language that ought to be used in the courts of justice throughout the Province. When Captain Elliot was acting Commissioner, he referred it to the Deputy Commissioners under him what language they would wish to employ in their several districts. None of them knew Marathi, and of course being unwilling to burden themselves with the duty of learning another language, they all, with one honourable exception, voted for Hindustani, which they did know. Since that time Marathi has been proscribed in the courts. All trials, etc., have been conducted in a foreign tongue. I more than once hinted to Mr. Plowden after he came that this was an improper state of affairs, and I was asked to write out my opinion and suggestions. It is reported that Marathi will ere long be restored to its due place. Mr. Plowden is very much abused and censured in the newspapers, but hitherto he has shown himself to be one of the best administrators that I have become acquainted with. I would also ask a copy of V l's *Index Testaceologicus*, new edition, brought down to th esent day, by Sylvanus Hanley, published by G. Willi reat Piazza, Covent Garden, London, at £3 : 1[illegible] morocco. I hope you will not object, for it is not many luxuries that I indulge in."

Unhappily Mr. Plowden suffered from constitutional laziness. The non-appearance of his Salt Report was the standing joke of Anglo-Indian officials. He could not and did not send in reports to the central Government at Calcutta, which was almost as ignorant of the course of events in the new

Province as the Calcutta or Bombay public. In spite of the provision of an Act of Parliament passed in 1854, he never sent in an annual report on the moral and material progress of the country. He left a mass of arrears to Colonel E. K. Elliot, a successor who to his failings added that of weak health.

On his return Hislop found the administration not only weaker but more corrupt than ever. Uncontrolled by a Commissioner of energy and high *morale*, the district officers, with a few exceptions, left the routine of work to their native subordinates. These sold justice, or were believed to do so by the suitors. The lazy adoption of Hindustani as the court language and banishment of Marathi, the mother tongue of the majority of the people, threw the administration into the hands of men of the Kaiet caste, who fattened on a monopoly of office in every department. Hislop wrote privately to the Editor of the *Friend of India*, at that time the present writer. The two set themselves deliberately and persistently to expose the scandals and bring about reform. Hislop's full and impartial letters were made the basis of frequent articles. Cases were mentioned, names were given, of the native servants and court subordinates of British officers who had been allowed by the incapacity and laziness of their masters to fatten on bribes. Acting on the policy which had always led the great weekly journal to give independent support and counsel to a Government placed like that of India, while opposing it when principle seemed to be overlooked, the editor confidentially submitted all the facts and allegations in Hislop's letters to Lord Canning and his Foreign Office. Moved by the exposures, the official most reprehensible for permitting the corruption of the natives around him asked the permission of the Government to bring an action against the journal. On being consulted, the Editor privately assured the Governor-General that he would rejoice if the officer were allowed to take public proceedings,

as the best means to bring the system to an end. Stephen Hislop was no less ready to vindicate his statements. But the Viceroy, having had his eyes opened at last, agreed to a better way. He sent Sir R. Temple to Nagpoor.

When the Mutiny and its campaigns had ceased, towards the end of 1858, Lord Canning for the first time saw North India with his own eyes, and had the frankness to confess to Sir William Muir that he should have done many things very differently. From Lower Bengal to Peshawur in the north, and Nagpoor in the south, the administration of Hindustan had to be reorganised. Financial considerations alone rendered this urgent. Everywhere the lavish expenditure of two years of confusion and war had to be intelligently checked. Mr. James Wilson set the painful machinery in motion. His lieutenants were Sir George Balfour for the military and Sir Richard Temple for the civil establishments. The latter was charged with the duty of reporting, after personal inspection, on the financial results of combining the province of Nagpoor with the North-West districts of Sagar and Narbada under one jurisdiction. At Kamthi he was closely associated with Brigadier Browne, the noblest soldier of the Madras army, and Hislop's helper in all good works. There was a hope that Berar would form part of the new Proconsulate, at a time when the American Civil War had given extraordinary importance to the production of East India cotton. Lord Canning did his best to bring this about, but he was opposed by his own representative in Haidarabad, to which State the surplus revenue is paid.

On 30th November 1861 the *Calcutta Gazette* published the "Resolution" decreeing that a territory as large as Italy, with a population which our rule has increased to twelve millions, be consolidated "under one central jurisdiction at Nagpoor." The decree frankly and in general terms admitted the charges of Mr. Hislop

and the *Friend of India.* Of the superseded form of administration it confessed that "it does not present that unity, completeness, and efficiency which are requisite in order that justice may be done to the condition and prospects of territories so largely capable of improvement." "With a province situated as Nagpoor the control exercised by the supreme Government is necessarily remote, and therefore slow." Thus two provinces, hitherto separated from the rest of India, had a chance of good government for the first time. They consist of perhaps the grandest plateau on the face of the globe, more than half of which, thirty years ago, was covered by dense forest and jungle, where the wild beast found its lair, and the Gond sought a precarious subsistence. The "unexplored" and unknown territory of Central India, over the south of which for fifteen years the missionary savant had been tramping and toiling as he preached to the people the glad tidings of the Kingdom, roadless, schoolless, barbarous, was at last to enter on an era of reformation and prosperity, to be second only to the Panjab and Burma. But who is to be the first Chief Commissioner?

Sir Richard Temple's report, and the unanimous voice of Anglo-Indians, marked him out as the man to do there what John Lawrence, whose secretary he had been, had done in the Panjab, as nearly as the different type of people allowed. But he was not a favourite of the Governor-General, and Lord Canning's regard for official etiquette prevented him from seeming to supersede Colonel Elliot, notwithstanding that officer's physical weakness. After the officials had settled down in their districts and had drawn their larger pay, the scheme would not work. The machinery looked well, but the motive power was wanting. Hislop was in despair; for the old-new Chief had besides planted the old incompetents in the valuable Commissionerships. The Serampore Journal became deluged with complaints, so that it asked, "Are we living in a British de-

pendency in the middle of the nineteenth century, or is British India as bad as Bourbon Naples and worse than St. Petersburg?". The very taxes were collected through a Marwaree firm, itself the largest tax-payer. The "Nagpoor clique" became notorious and intolerable all over India. The scandal had reached a height when the *Calcutta Gazette* announced the grant to the new Chief Commissioner of leave to Europe under medical certificate. Shut up to this course, Lord Canning's last act of patronage was to appoint Sir Richard Temple to be Chief Commissioner. On his way, in April 1862, to take up the duties, he spent an evening in the old dining-hall of the Serampore Brotherhood, from which it was said India was sometimes governed—so many distinguished administrators discussed there the affairs of the Indian empire. He was shown the correspondence of Hislop, and told in detail of the value of the missionary to the public service as well as to the highest good of the people. The new ruler went to the Central Provinces prepared to do him justice. The two became fast friends and fellow-workers.

It is thus that the English Governor has since written of the Scottish missionary when reviewing *Men and Events of My Time in India*:[1]—

"At Nagpoor the best schools then existing belonged to the Mission established many years previously by the Free Church of Scotland, under the leadership of the Reverend Stephen Hislop. Indeed, the Mission establishment had been for many years a little focus of enlightenment in an isolated and uncivilised part of the empire. Hislop was among the most gifted and accomplished missionaries whom this generation has seen in India. Besides having much ability for organisation and education generally, for philology and antiquarian research, he had a taste and aptitude for physical science—especially botany and geology. His varied

[1] John Murray, London, 1882, p. 241.

talents were all brought to bear on the work of his sacred profession as an evangelist. He was a good teacher and preacher in the Marathi language, and had much knowledge of Hindu philosophy. He also perceived that the aboriginal tribes formed a not inconsiderable part of the population, and were as yet free from any preconceived notions, having minds quite open to the reception of Christianity, unless, owing to tardiness in missionary work on the part of the Christian Church, they should fall under the proselytising influences of Hinduism. He therefore specially studied the unwritten languages or dialects of these aboriginal tribes, collecting carefully their ballads, legends, proverbs, and gathering information of much value and originality. He acquired an insight into the geology and botany of the Province, as affecting the soil, products, and climate. He had also a predilection for observing the prehistoric remains scattered about the country, and pertaining to the so-called Scythian era—before the coming of the Hindus to India. While still in his prime, he had become a shining light, a power for good, and, had he lived, he would have become, under Providence, an instrument of incalculable benefit to the people. It is sad to think what holy aspirations, what lofty hopes, what bright promises, were buried in his grave."

Temple's advent changed the whole aspect of the administration, and even the country. In the saddle or at the desk, from sunrise to the late dinner hour, he stirred up every department and official, till schools, roads, the advancing railways north and south, mines, canals, and above all the land assessment, revolutionised the country in the best sense, and raised the revenue wherewith to make more extensive improvements. Engagements to the Bhosla family were faithfully maintained; one-fourth of the whole revenue of £823,347 in 1861-62 having been assigned to 2158 pensioners, besides the lands of Deor, near Satara, conferred on Janoji

Raja, the adopted son. At least thirty-eight per cent, or £325,000, was devoted to civil administration next year, such as officials, courts, police, schools, and dispensaries. The supreme Government spent on the public works and other improvements some £200,000 a year over and above the income of the Provinces. Temple's first report was received with gratulation by the Anglo-Indian press, which said of the writer—"He shows no little skill in effectually conveying an impression of the gross misgovernment of Nagpoor without inculpating any of his predecessors."

Hislop watched and helped and criticised, in his correspondence, the progress which he more than any other man had set in motion. He wrote thus to his old colleague, Dr. Hunter:—

"NAGPOOR, *6th July* 1862.— . . . We hope that our work will now take a start. Certainly there is much activity displayed now in all departments of Government. Mr. Temple, formerly in the Panjab, has succeeded Colonel E. K. Elliot, and with him has flowed into the Central Provinces a stream of improvement which is extending to every unvisited nook and corner of this inaccessible part of India. One of his first measures was to proceed to Mothoor, near the Mahadewas, and, on comparing it with other localities in the hottest part of May, to decide in favour of our old haunt, which will now be prepared for the accommodation of invalid soldiers and a delicate public. Then again the benefits of sanitary reform, with the imposition of a slight tax, are to be introduced into the city and the larger towns. Nagpoor, if ever its trade shall be developed by the approach of the railway, is to have a new town added on the four sides of the tank, while the old unseemly mounds that distressed us as we went to our English school are to be levelled, and boulevards made in their place. A system of education is to be commenced, but no rival school is to be set down where we may have one already. The only school to be established in the city is a normal one, in which as many of the ancient *pantojis* as consent are to be fitted for some usefulness. Bands of agents are to be invited from Poona, and Dr. M. Mitchell and myself will be to blame, if among them there shall be found any one of positive infidel tendencies. I could multiply statements of this kind, but

have not strength. Though Mr. Temple himself is only an enlightened civilian with respect for religion and missions, his secretary is Captain Mackenzie, a Highland Free Churchman and a Christian.

"Oldham now acknowledges the receipt of the small box of Scotch specimens, and is much obliged for your contribution. He has gone home for two or three months, and is to be heard of at the Government Museum, Jermyn Street, London. I hope in consultation with Professor Balfour you will soon work out the Eocene fruits."

"NAGPOOR, 22*d November* 1862.— . . . In my last I stated that you would scarcely know Sitabaldi. Many of the same names are still heard around us; but the bearers of them known as children are now grown up and filling respectable positions in society. The clerks, with whom Sitabaldi is now crammed, desire a first-class school for their children, and invite the charitable aid of the European community. The old Maharaj Bagh is now the garden of an agri-horticultural society, which has branches throughout the Central Provinces. We have volunteers and a band. Dr. Heude has established a dispensary opposite the palace which is supported by voluntary contribution. At the beginning of this week, I am sorry to say, I received warning that Hunterpoor must be removed for the terminus of the railway, which is to occupy its site. We are to receive Rs. 600 as compensation, but we have not yet obtained a new piece of ground on which to build. We hope to procure Lieutenant Bay's old compound behind our church in the ordnance lines. Our station is to have a museum and library, the former to be scientific as well as economical, the latter for works of reference, among which I hope to see the *Asiatic Researches*, etc.

"I had a letter from Dr. Carter, now at home. He had visited Bowerbank in connection with sponges, and Rev. M. J. Berkeley, of Kingscliff, Northamptonshire, one of the greatest of fungolists, but a poor clergyman with thirteen children. He asks me what progress you and Professor Balfour made with the Eocene Flora. I hope soon to give him a satisfactory reply. I suppose the winter is really the Botanical Professor's season of greatest leisure, so I trust you will not let him off. Captain Forsyth, son of Rev. Dr. Forsyth, of Aberdeen, has selected from the Mahadewas a section of a tree fern stem, which is a great novelty. It grows about five feet high, with a trunk about the thickness of a man's arm. Perhaps you can tell me the nearest locality for a similar product. I have no book here to help me. Did I mention to you the true rose that was found in Bastar last year by Captain Stuart, an officer then in the Forest Conser-

vatory Department like Forsyth? Any information regarding this will be acceptable. Wallich's *Plantæ Asiaticæ Rariores* is in the Advocates' Library. Other works you might be able to consult in the University Library or from Professor Balfour."

Mr. Hislop continued to send home and to Calcutta rich collections of fossils, and to receive from the scientific friends who had learned to know him during his furlough letters full of geological discussions and words of personal affection. Among others, Professor Huxley was engaged in reporting on his latest treasures. On 2d April 1863, Mr. Rupert Jones wrote from Sandhurst, where he was then one of the professors, of the completion of his *Monograph of the Fossil Estheriæ*, then about to appear :—

"The monograph will be of interest to you on account of the Indian Estheriæ. I regard the Mangali specimens as young and old, male and female, of one species (analogous variations in size and form being known in other species), and the Panchet specimens are probably the same. The Kotah form is different. I wished to name them after *Hislop* and *Hunter*, but Baird had used your name for a recent form, so I have termed them *E. Mangaliensis* and *E. Kotahensis*. I believe that all the known particulars are stated—aided by your last memoir in the Bombay journals. I have also given a tabular correlation of the Estherian deposits of India (approximative only). Indeed I have fully treated of the *geological* relations of all the fossil *Estheriæ* that are mentioned in the monograph. An appendix comprises the other bivalved Entomostraca that occur *with* the *Estheriae*. The cypris-like specimens in the Estherian bed of Kotah I describe as *Candona* (?) *Kotahensis*, acknowledging that its general resemblance to other *Candonæ* and *Cyprides* makes it hazardous to name it except for convenience sake. The Kotah *Estheriæ* is much like our Wealden species in some respects. The Mangali form is nearer to *E. minuta* on one hand, and to the Virginian *E. ovata* on the other. I have never been able to get an opportunity of fixing Professor Morris with the Nagpoor *Tæniopteris* that you wish to be compared with *T. lata*. But this point will not be forgotten.

"Your reptilian bones reached London safely and are in the Society's cabinet. Huxley has seen them. They could not be submitted to Owen for two reasons: he was too full of work, and Huxley had had

the subject in hand. Oldham kindly sent from India a piece of the Panchet stuff for me, and I saw him subsequently in England, and the two Blanfords also. I shall try to send you a proof of the plate of *Estheriæ* comprising *E. Mangaliensis et Kotahensis.*

"If your red sandstones, etc., be really triassic, there is an equivalent carbonaceous group in the European trias, namely the Lettenkohle group at the bottom of the Keuper.

"We all remember you with pleasant cordial feelings; we wish you well always; we hope you have had good health of late, and that we may be all spared to meet again in health and strength."

Like the closing sentence of the above, the following letter has a pathetic interest from the fact that the writer, Dr. Oldham, and he to whom it was sent were so soon, though they knew it not, to be called away from their busy life on earth :—

"ROORKEE, 11*th July* 1863.

"MY DEAR MR. HISLOP—The address above will in some degree plead excuse for my not having answered your kind and interesting note of alas! 13th June. I have been running about a good deal, and have been very busy. I was rejoiced to hear that there was a better chance of good workable coal at Meerut. Your man Virapa seems to be most successful as a collector. How very provoking it is that one generally gets only those small terminal portions of fossils or branches of those Coniferæ or Cupressium. It is impossible to make anything out of them. We have numbers from the Rajmahal Hills, but they are useless except to confuse. . . . It is a great relief to get away from the unceasing worry of the office and of Calcutta, although absence I find terribly delays progress. Nothing is done in many ways while you are away.

"These are *most* interesting teeth, and as you say, their Megalosaurian affinities are very remarkable. Have we no prospect of your getting down to these beds yourself? It is clear there is much yet to be made out regarding them and their relations, and while Virapa's collections are most valuable, it is, I think, clear that nothing satisfactory can be inferred from them without careful examination of the beds on the spot. I presume, though you do not say so, that the Unios are different from those you have from the Intertrappean?

"I heard from Huxley, London, last mail. He is terribly overworked, and has done nothing at the Indian fossils as yet. He does not say whether Rupert Jones has sent him those interesting specimens

I took home or no. But I fancy not, from what he says of other things. Jones's paper on Estheriæ is out, and in it he gives a tabular view of Indian rocks, in which he has made several egregious mistakes as regards some of your subdivisions, I think, as well as my own. Of the latter the most important is that he puts the reptile remains into the *Damuda* or Raniganj group. I must write to correct this and some other things.

"I do hope to be able to send you some things for your Museum, but *here* I can do nothing. I will leave this before end of month. Must go over a section—the hills near Naini Tal—on my way down. I hope to be in Calcutta by middle of August. It is not pleasant weather for running about, but this cannot be helped. I have been lecturing at the College here, and have also undertaken a heavy job to arrange all their minerals and fossils in the Museum, which has given me work morning and daytime for some days, but I have made an *approach to completion*, and a few days more will finish them off. I have not got a single fossil up here. No Siwalik *fossils* near this. The hunting grounds for them are more to the West and North. . . ."

The good government, the honest and careful administration which Stephen Hislop had at last set in motion, produced financial and moral results even more rapid than he had dared to anticipate. At once, in the more important and ultimately in all of the eighteen districts or counties, a settlement of the land-tax for a generation was set on foot. The Central Provinces reaped the fruit of the experience of the Panjab, whose younger officials were joined with some from the neighbouring Province of Bombay in doing the work. The completion of the settlements resulted in an increase of five per cent on the previous assessment. The average rate for each cultivated acre is only thirteenpence. This is marvellously little in itself and compared with the neighbouring districts of the North-West. The cause is not far to seek. Central India was the favourite hunting-ground of the Marathas. There they hunted men, now deluging its fields with the blood of a hundred battles, now squeezing from the peasantry the highest sums they could possibly pay. The

triennial settlements of the Marathas left to the people a bare subsistence, but the demands of their armies and the unauthorised exactions of their officials took away even that. Land went out of cultivation, the population fled, and those who remained ceased to increase. What the Marathas began we in many cases completed, by our ignorantly severe assessment. Then came the Mutiny, which was to many provinces a revival of the Maratha times. Our records were swept away, our settlement work was arrested. The creation of a separate Chief Commissionership was followed by the great rise in cotton, and there was hope for Central India. Hislop lived to see the new era, which he had done so much to introduce, dawn in districts like Wardha, where "the price of cotton rose till it reached 900 per cent on the prices of 1858, and the price of grain of all kinds went up at least forty per cent." But rents did not rise in proportion to the rise in the price of produce. The increase was only nine per cent in Wardha because of abounding waste land ; it was thirty per cent in Hoshangabad.

A quarter of a century has passed since the new era began. Roads, railways, mining companies, the forest and public works officers have penetrated everywhere. What used to be called the "great wilderness" of the Indrawati now responds to the influence of the new civilisation. From Raepoor, centre of the long neglected and isolated plain of Chatteesgarh—the land of threshing-floors which the Banjaras' pack cattle alone visited—a Commissioner like Mr. A. H. L. Fraser, who rejoices to give his leisure to the development of Hislop's work, sends forth the highest influences. The Chief Commissioner himself, the Hon. A. Mackenzie, of the same school, reviews with satisfaction the progress set in motion during those memorable years 1862-64. In a land nearly as large as Italy (115,935 square miles) the population has risen from less than nine to nearly twelve millions—the coming census

will show that a population as large as that of Scotland has been added to it in a generation. The annual land revenue, which was £530,303 in the year ending March 1863, was £625,673 in 1887; the total revenue just doubled itself, rising to £1,590,690.[1]

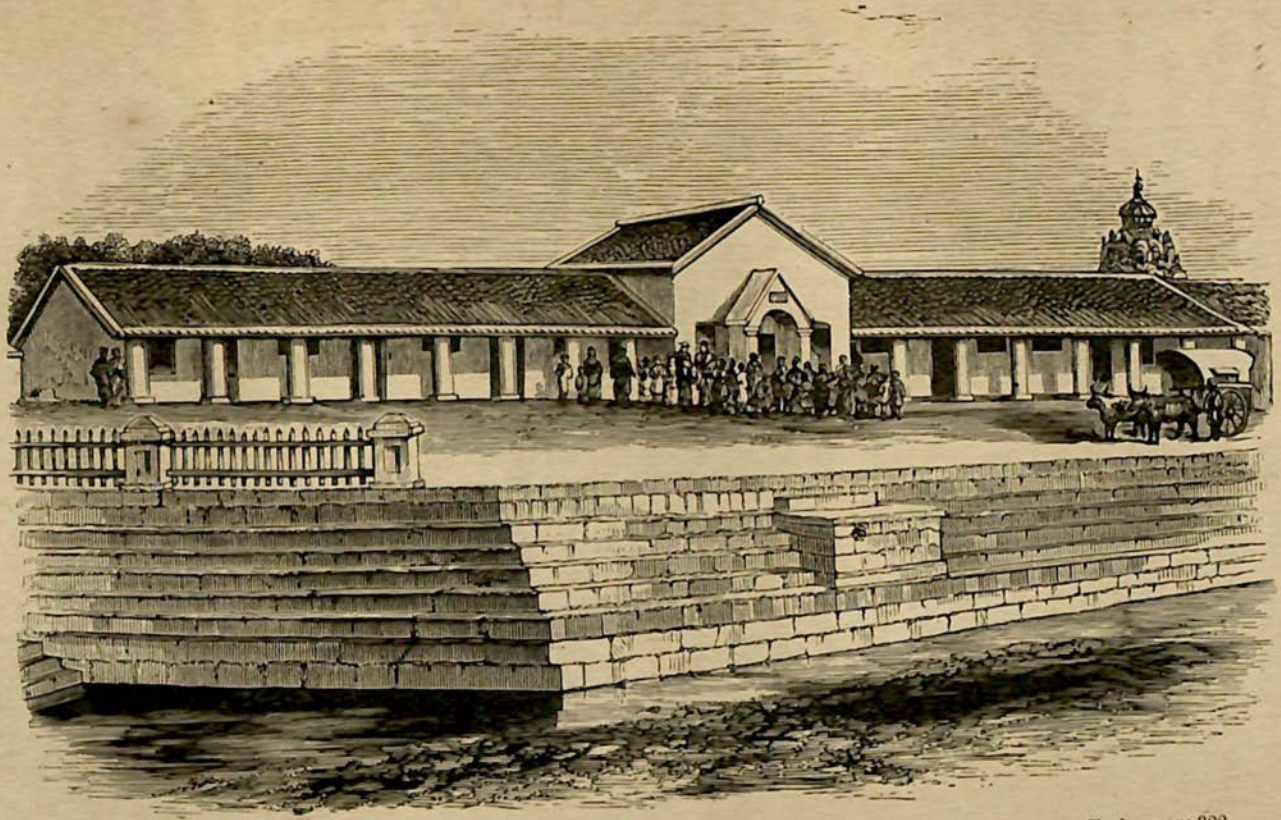
The moral progress may be estimated from the two departments of excise and education. Before Hislop passed away the former yielded £74,535 from drink and drugs, and £765 from opium; in 1887 these had risen to £257,521 and £21,470 respectively. Undoubtedly the department has checked the drinking excesses of the Gonds and other aborigines with gain to the public revenue, but the native staff have been, as in other provinces, the zealous promoters of drunkenness. There is no such drawback in the region of public instruction, not even that which in all the other provinces has just been acknowledged by the Government of India to be a consequence of the purely secular education given in State colleges. Until Hislop's own example and remonstrances prevailed there were practically no schools worth the name in the Central Provinces. Under Colonel Dods and his successor, Mr. Colin Browning, B.A., some 2000 schools, with 110,000 pupils, have been called into existence, exclusive of those not under inspection. While the bulk of the grants in aid have gone to primary and girls' schools, the higher education has kept pace with these in colleges and high schools, the Hislop Missionary College being at their head. Local self-government has made more progress there than in any other part of India. As yet, too, this is only the beginning of prosperity, whether the Central Provinces be linked on to the Bombay Governorship or be developed into a Lieutenant Governorship. The completion of the Bengal-

[1] *Report on the Administration of the Central Provinces* for the year 1886-87. By A. Mackenzie, Esq., C.S.I., Chief Commissioner. Nagpoor: October 1887.

Nagpoor railway, which will make Nagpoor the principal halfway depot on the main line from Bombay to Calcutta, and soon to Burma and China, will produce improvements which the reformers of the year 1900 will rejoice over, as we now do when we look back on the toils of Stephen Hislop.

To him the root and the fruit alike of all true progress was found in the manifestation of Christ to Hindus, Gonds, and Mohammedans, and in His living manifestation by as many of them and of the ruling class as had found Him. Frequent attacks of fever troubled Hislop in 1862, and he was much occupied by the superintendence of the college building. But the four missionaries, the Hislops and the Coopers—the former among the Marathi-speaking, the latter among the Tamil-speaking, and both in the English services and girls' schools—toiled on through heat and cold, often gladdened by new converts, and ever on the watch and in prayer to build up the young native churches. Hislop's letters during his second Indian service are rich in incident, in aspiration, in gratitude to God, as he records the ingathering of inquirers, the growing hopefulness of the work of colporteurs like Apaya and catechists like Pahud Singh, the proofs of the working of the Spirit of God among the dumb millions. In June 1861, while repeating his cry for a third missionary, if only a lay teacher, he urged his Church to occupy Haidarabad by an offshoot from its Madras Mission, in obedience to the call of the Native Christian community there: "It would be a noble opportunity for beginning the work of evangelisation in the long-neglected territories of the Nizam; it would form the link between Bombay and Madras as ours, though at what a distance! does between Bombay and Calcutta."

His tour in the cold season of 1861-62 was made west to Amraoti, the capital of Berar, where he had engaged to preach to the Englishmen employed on the railway.



NATIVE CHRISTIAN MISSION HOUSE.

To face page 322.

"Though it is very undesirable for a missionary to deal in the most cursory manner with secular matters, still they will sometimes be thrust in his way. As might be expected, the income tax was thus often forced on my attention by my native hearers. When I could not avoid the subject, I told them that the Bible taught me, as one of the people like themselves, the duty of contributing towards the expenses of the Government, and that if there were no British to administer the country they might lay their account for paying tax in another form not so agreeable—which the elder among them might remember in their childhood, when the Pindarees were in the habit of overrunning their villages, and extorting their wealth with the infliction of torture and threats of death.

"But there was one complaint brought at Kundali against the British Government, which it would puzzle a European to conjecture. It was not against their injustice, but their impartiality. For the first time within the memory of man the priestly caste are being treated by the magistrate like other men. If a Brahman has committed an offence he is condemned to the same punishment as a Mahar (low caste person) who has been guilty of the same crime. I replied that not only did the British Government act thus; but that in the government of the Most High there was the same rule of rectitude—that at the bar of heaven there was no difference between high caste and low caste, and that on the day of judgment no one would be pardoned because he was a Brahman, but because he had accepted the righteousness and atonement of the Great High Priest, who was a Saviour for all, the lowest as well as the highest of mankind. A group of Mahars, who had listened with peculiar interest to this statement on the outskirts of the crowd, led the way in the dark to my tent.

"On another occasion I was cheered by the concern felt in my message by one of these despised outcasts. At Pipulgaum, on the Pindi Hills, I addressed a small number of villagers, who, considering that they had never heard the gospel before, were not only attentive but displayed much intelligence in entering into it. There was one, however, before all the others in this respect, though being a Mahar he was as usual seated behind them. When I rose to leave he offered to accompany me. This being the official duty of the class to which he belongs, I thought he might have offered from that feeling, and I declined, at the same time setting off on the remainder of my day's journey as rapidly as I could, hoping thereby to leave him behind. However, he followed close at my heels, and when I repeated that I did not need his services, he said he had come on business of his own.

'But what,' he asked, 'was the name of that Saviour of whom you spoke?' I told him; whereupon he repeated it over and over, observing that this was the business on which he had come. I had his company for two miles to Yawatmahal, conversing as we went along about the affairs of eternity. Though unaware of it at the time, I was not long in ascertaining that his presence was not altogether unnecessary. We had been on our ground not more than half an hour, when we heard the sound of shouting. It proved to be the noise of men, frightening away a tiger, which had leaped from its covert by the wayside on a cartful of people as they passed along. The animal had marked a little child for its prey; but on the father using a stick, which he had, to drive it off, it sprang upon him, seizing him by the arms and thighs. The shouting of the other men caused the tiger to let go its hold of the man, and it made off with his turban, which, however, was dropped and afterwards recovered. As the cart approached the village, I went out to meet it and examined the poor man's wounds. What a deliverance! I subsequently spoke to the people of the still greater deliverance which the gracious God, who had preserved him, was willing to vouchsafe from the power of Satan —that devouring lion. But, as if to show the art with which the enemy of souls works, next morning, when we left our ground before dawn, the chief of the village police, who accompanied us to the first hamlet on our road, was full of questions of a speculative rather than a practical kind, such as, Who made Satan, and Whether the Southern Cross, which was at that moment shining in the heavens, was, as he had heard from Romanists, when he was in the Nizam's army, a veritable witness to the truth of the Christian religion?

"In the country through which we travelled after leaving Yawatmahal wild beasts were unusually abundant even for Central India. On the second day we came to a spot on the road where a cow had been carried off by a tiger four days before, and a little farther on the same march we passed a place where a Kolam had fallen a victim that day week. But amid all our journeyings we would record it to the praise of the Lord's faithfulness, that not a hair of our head was injured.

"The Kolam just mentioned belonged to one of those aboriginal tribes that are scattered over all the jungly tracts. On my late tour, as well as on other occasions, I collected a considerable amount of information on their religion, language, customs, and moral condition. They are in many respects an interesting people; but as there is no missionary acquainted with their language they may well say, No man

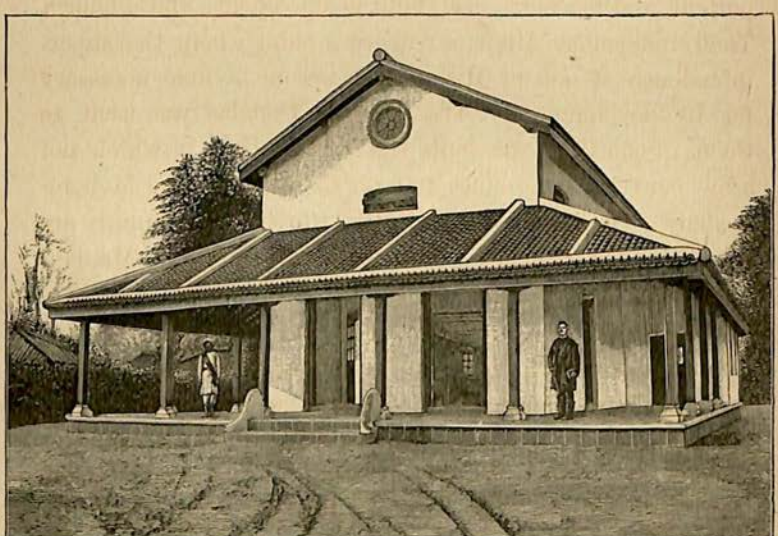
careth for our souls. Is there no call on our Church, which professes to have occupied the Nagpoor Province, to consider what she can do on behalf of these neglected children of the forest? With only two European labourers here, nothing, I regret to say, can be done in the meantime."

To the Rev. Dr. Hanna, biographer of Thomas Chalmers and most beloved of Scottish ministers, who became for too short a time director of the Missions in Edinburgh, Mr. Hislop wrote his first official letter on 22d October 1862, describing the previous neglect of the country and consequent ignorance of the people :—

"I am thankful to say that since 7th May, when Mr. Temple arrived here as Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, all this has been changed. An impetus has been given to improvement of every kind such as Nagpoor never experienced in any period of its history. The banished vernacular has been recalled, and schools for teaching it are to be established. A grant in aid has been given to our schools, and in respect of our having had previous possession of the ground no Government school, except one for training teachers, is to be set down in the city. The education of the capital, therefore, in a manner depends on the Mission ; and how needful that while imparting sound secular knowledge we should leaven the minds of the young with the saving truths of the gospel! We entreat the committee to send us help. Our schools in the city, Sitabaldi and Kamthi, would require all our time, but we have in addition to preach to our countrymen at the two latter places, and we long to preach more extensively among the adult natives of the Province. If you cannot send us a third missionary, we would earnestly solicit the appointment of a pious young man accustomed to the work of teaching. This gift, *so urgently needed*, I trust you will be able to confer upon us, and thus render the commencement of your Convenership memorable in our Mission."

To the General Assembly of 1863 he made his last report, showing 61 adult converts as the fruit of his pioneering ministry, and a native Christian community at the close of 1862 of 140, of whom 45 were in full communion. In the Institution and five other schools 628 youths of both sexes—39 girls—were receiving a Christian education. "The pro-

spect of a native pastorate supported by the members of our native church is still far distant," he somewhat sadly wrote. "The desire for it is, however, increasing." Even he had not faith to realise the progress of the living temple whereof he had laid the foundations, though it was so soon to be deprived of his fostering care. Here, as with Livingstone's death for Africa, and Ion Keith-Falconer's for Arabia, and that of many other missionary martyrs, the Lord's parable of the seed-corn has been and is being verified.



MISSION HALL, BHANDARA.

The staff now consists of six Scottish missionaries, of whom two are ordained medical graduates,[1] besides four are women missionaries. While the Gond work has been efficiently provided for at Chindwara through the Swedish Society, and at Mandla and Jabalpoor by the Church Missionary Society,[2] and

[1] One of these, the Rev. Dr. Sandilands, M.A., is generously supported by the Rev. Robert Barbour of Bonskeid.

[2] "The Rev. H. D. Williamson's report of the *Gond Missions* is one of the most deeply interesting received from any part of the world. The

the Original Secession Church of Scotland works from Seoni, the populous county town of Bhandara has become a new centre chiefly through the zeal and sacrifice of the Native Christians.

These, from Hislop's and other Missions, had themselves been preaching the Gospel to the fourteen thousand inhabitants of Bhandara, and, in the surrounding country, had been distributing the Scriptures and tracts; had opened a school for boys of the lower classes; had employed a catechist, a colporteur, and teachers; had built a schoolhouse and a manse. Their indigenous Mission reached a point where the superintendence of one of Hislop's successors became necessary for its development. The Rev. J. Douglas was sent to them. Soon there was built the Mission Hall, in which not a few converts have since put on Christ, including Mohammedans. The leaders of the Native Christian community are men like Mr. Rangarao, pleader or advocate, and Maulavi Safdar Ali, one of a large class of seekers after God who, reluctantly driven from Islam by its failure to help the sinful, have become the most successful missionaries of Christ to their co-religionists. His brother-in-law, Hisam-ood-deem, is one of the Church's missionaries in Bombay. The latest convert was Abdool Masihi, who was followed by his whole family. Such men of position and learning, of purity of life

Gospel is now spreading rapidly among these Dravidian aborigines; and the fifteen adult baptisms of the year were all remarkable cases. One of the men baptized was not a Gond but a Baiga, a distinct and much lower race, wild men of the woods, who wash only once a year. 'The conduct and simple faith of all of them,' says Mr. Williamson, 'have given me the greatest joy, and they let their light shine among their friends and neighbours.' Inquirers and secret adherents abound, and many are asking for baptism; but much care has to be exercised, as the Gonds have a tendency to add the worship of Christ on to their old idolatry, or to worship Him in their old ways, as by offering Him cocoa-nuts. This tendency, however, is accompanied by extreme simplicity, and God has seemed to honour their childlike faith by using dreams to guide them, and by giving them remarkable answers to prayer."—*Church Missionary Society's Review of the Year* 1887-88.

and love of truth, who belong to the school of Barzoi, the physician to whom the world owes the *Kalilah and Dimnah* literature, and of Al Kindy, the Apologist at the court of the Caliph Al Mâmûn, show what converts Mohammedanism will give up to Christ when the Church works for them in earnest in a tolerant land such as India now is.

Ramtek, the great shrine of Rama and a pilgrim centre, is about to be occupied for the first time. There are three native congregations, meeting at Sitabaldi, at Kamthi, and in the city of Nagpoor, where they are erecting the first Christian church. They enjoy the ministrations of one of their own countrymen, the Rev. P. Timothy, a duly trained convert whom they "called" according to Presbyterian order. The Hislop College, affiliated to the Calcutta University, is the crown of a succession of high schools and Anglo-vernacular and vernacular schools; it has a staff of one Principal, Rev. J. G. Cooper, and six Professors, Rev. David Whitton, Rev. A. Robertson, M.B. and C.M., Mr. James Bremner, M.A., Bagiratha Prusad, B.A., Sedashive Jairam, B.A., and Gopal Ganesh Ranade, B.A. There are 230 girls at school, and Scottish ladies visit the zananas. The number of youths of both sexes under Bible and secular instruction last year was 1093. According to the Lord's missionary law, Stephen Hislop laboured, others rejoice to enter into his labours.

Hislop's latest utterance on a question which is still a subject of controversy only outside of India, we find in this letter to his brother:—

"NAGPOOR, 23*d April* 1863.—I suppose there is a current setting in at home against the Institution system. My own view has always been an eclectic one, combining both it and the itinerating method; but I am afraid the disposition to undervalue Institutions proceeds from impatience for results. I cannot help thinking that at the Presidency seats, where there are many Missions and a division of labour

is possible, Dr. Duff's plans were just what our Church should there carry out; and who will say that their fruits have been less than those of other methods in the same field? I think the record of the Madras Mission, as given in the *True Yokefellows*, will make this plain. No Mission in Madras was so much blessed as that for which John Anderson and Robert Johnston sacrificed their lives, and Braidwood shattered his constitution. In reading his and his friend's life how am I humbled! How cold is my heart! How unprofitable my efforts! I wish to have more of the power of the Word and Spirit; more of the savour of Jesus dwelling in me. Pray for us here, dear Robert, and for the work in which we are engaged. I desire with all sincerity to commend your soul, your family, and your important labours among the youth of our native land to the blessing of the Most High."

In the last letter addressed to his brother, he wrote:—

"1*st August* 1863.—Since I wrote you last we have had an interesting occasion in connection with our work. When we returned from the country at the beginning of the year there was a letter lying for me dated 'Nagpoor Jail.' It proved to be from a native of Bengal, one of the educated young Hindus from the neighbourhood of Calcutta. On a charge of having attempted to cheat the Government in the Engineering Department, he had been condemned to one year's rigorous imprisonment. His education had been at a Government school; his life had been one of infidelity and excess; but he had come in contact with Christians, and now that he found Deism could give him no comfort in his season of shame and solitude, he turned for relief to the Bible. In his letter soliciting a visit from me, he asked a copy of the Scriptures. In my interview with him I found him under deep concern about his soul. I have visited him twice a week ever since the end of January. Light was not long in breaking in on the darkness. He rejoiced in God his Saviour. His case was reinvestigated, and he was declared to be innocent. On his release he was baptized, and he desires, at a considerable pecuniary sacrifice, to serve his Lord in some direct way."

In what proved to be the last of his twenty years' toil for the people of Central India, Hislop rejoiced to reap the fruit of his long and frequent remonstrances against the inhuman and intolerant practices sanctioned by Hinduism as meri-

torious. In Nagpoor, up till 1863, men and women, who had made vows to Khandoba, used to swing about, suspended aloft by a hook fixed in the muscles of their back; they were wont to insert cords, one on each side of the waist, and allow these for an hour to be drawn through the wounds with a see-saw motion; and to many other similar penances they were in the habit of submitting. At a village named Kondi, about thirty miles east of Nagpoor, a custom prevailed which appears still more cruel. There the popular god is named Hirba, and a crowd of worshippers annually assemble to do him honour. On these occasions there was produced a wooden frame of the length of a man's body, and of about half the breadth across, while at equal intervals were arranged five swords, with their sharpened edges up. Over these the devotee extended his naked body, with his face downwards, when the frame was swung to and fro ten times. He then changed his position, and lay down on his back, when he was swung as before. "Such are the sufferings devised by the natural heart, and promised at a sanguinary demon's shrine to coax him into the withdrawal of his wrath! They are, however, praised be God, at an end in this part of India," wrote Hislop.

Another instance of social progress was the abolition of caste distinctions in drawing water from public tanks and wells. It was the *chambhars* (curriers or shoemakers) who, at Nagpoor, were most oppressed in this matter. They were not permitted to draw for themselves, but were compelled to call in the help of some more favoured individual, whom they had to remunerate, and on whose leisure they had to wait in groups on the margin of the well or tank. The loss of time and money to which they were thus subjected was a very serious grievance. To escape it one day, two or three of their women repaired to a pool, where they thought there would be no objection to their helping themselves. They were ob-

served, beaten, and sent home with their vessels smashed. With tears they represented their case to Mr. Hislop as he passed. He brought it to the notice of the Chief Commissioner, and orders were at once issued, conferring on them equal privileges with the rest of the community. Practically it is still sometimes difficult for them to assert their right; but, at all events, native officials know that they must no longer join in the wrong.

When the Mission thus came into friendly relations with the *chambhars* in the water controversy, a very natural result of their success in procuring the means of refreshing their bodies was to lead them to seek knowledge for the improvement of their children's minds. Hence a few of them proposed to send their boys to the new school. The principle on which the schools had been conducted from the first, was to pay no deference to caste. In Nagpoor, where Brahmanical influence is strong—strong both to eradicate the desire for knowledge from the minds of the lower classes, and to repress it, should it in any instance be found to spring up—this principle was scarcely ever put to the test. When, however, the little *chambhars* were brought by their parents to its doors, consistency required the missionaries to admit them, though at the loss of many of the "twice-born" scholars. But the loss was not to be compared with the victory. By all these causes combined, the number of the English and Marathi pupils in the city fell from 420 to 240. But what was lost in numbers was gained in efficiency. A month after entering the new college building the Mission commenced a Hindustani class, which prospered.

In the cold season of 1862-63 Dr. Cotton, the Bishop of Calcutta, visited the Central Provinces on tour, when he and Hislop met face to face for the first and last time. With the catholicity that gave power to his Christian influence, the Bishop examined the Mission schools. He never failed to

show his earnest interest in the progress of Scriptural education. "On two occasions he took the opportunity of publicly acknowledging the value of the Free Church services in India," Mr. Hislop reported to Dr. Hanna, "and expressed it to be his conviction that Dr. Duff had done more for the enlightenment of this dark land than any other man." Having with the Coopers completed a tour to the south along a line of new road on which thousands of labourers were employed, and having revived the impressions made in the same region nine years before, he and Mrs. Hislop spent the toiling months of heat and rain in labours more than ever abundant, and with results more than ever encouraging. In August 1863 he rejoiced to meet the desire of the natives by opening a new vernacular Mission school, followed by a new girls' school, in the now populous Sitabaldi, just behind the Residency, and to receive for it a grant-in-aid. In the Mission which he had founded and fostered with unceasing toil, that was his last act.

CHAPTER XI

"GOD TOOK HIM"

Thursday, 3d September 1863—With the Chief Commissioner on tour—Bori and the new Educational Department—Family worship and intolerance to young converts—Friday, 4th September 1863—The last words of the First Epistle to the Thessalonians—Ready for the day of the Lord—Among the cromlechs of Takalghat again—Stephen Hislop's last conversations—Preaches Christ for the last time—Suddenly drowned—The riderless horse, the search, the discovery—The burial—Public opinion, English and Native—Discourses by Mr. Cooper and Dr. John Wilson—Letters from Dr. Wilson and Baba Pandurang to Mrs. Hislop—Stephen Hislop planted and watered, God is now giving the increase—He led the second band of martyr or hero missionaries in this missionary century—The hero missionary's life and death an argument for Christianity and its Missions—The everlasting All Saints' Day which St. John saw in heaven—The hymn of All Saints.

It was the beginning of the month of September 1863. The summer monsoon, with its annual rainfall of forty-five inches, had slackened, and seemed about to give place to the return current from the north-east, with its steady outflow of cool air. At the elevation of upwards of a thousand feet, which is that of Nagpoor and the plain of the Dekhan, the life-giving cold season begins earlier and lasts longer than on the low-lying coast. The Chief Commissioner had already begun his tours throughout the districts, during which he and his secretaries kept up a close correspondence with Mr. Hislop as to schools, civil reforms, and objects of scientific interest. On this occasion, since the tour began close to Nagpoor, Sir Richard Temple desired the presence of the missionary in his camp. In all these departments there was

much to be done in the southern districts, over which Mr. Hislop had walked more than once during the previous twenty years. The rainy season had for two years weakened him by the low malarial fever which it leaves behind, and the fresh air of the open country, with the daily rides, cultured talk, and contact with a people whom he loved, promised to give the invalid new strength. Sunrise on Thursday, the third day of September, saw him cantering along the eighteen miles of the Great Southern Road, which leads from the capital to what is now the railway station of Bori.

Bori is a prosperous village embosomed in groves and gardens, inhabited by four thousand shopkeepers, peasants, and dyers, the last of whom use the waters of the Wana, on the left bank of which it stands, to produce a red brick colour so lasting as to make the cloths of the place locally famous. The Wana flows eastward into the Waenganga tributary of the Godavari. In the comfortable traveller's bungalow, built by Government at Bori as all along the admirable high-roads of British India, Mr. Hislop found the Chief Commissioner, Captain Hector Mackenzie, and Lieutenant Puckle, ready for the late breakfast of Anglo-Indian official life, after a day's work already done in the cooler hours of the morning. In a narrative written by Sir Richard Temple for Mrs. Hislop we have a detailed account of the conversation and the events of that Thursday, and of the fatal Friday which succeeded it.

Having joined the party as they assembled for the morning meal, Mr. Hislop's first inquiry was as to the results of the new educational system in the Wardha district from which they had just come. How many village schools had been opened? How were the Maratha teachers succeeding, whom Dr. John Wilson and Dr. Murray Mitchell had selected and sent up from Bombay and Poona? Were the people friendly to them? Was Colonel Dods, the Maratha scholar who

had been made first inspector, satisfied thus far? Mr. Hislop "seemed glad to hear that the several young men who had come up from Bombay to teach in the village schools were proving successful, as setting an example of progress, and at least of intellectual enlightenment. Whatever might be the right view on higher questions, he certainly thought that the State did so far well in diffusing some light among the villages in the interior of the country, which he described as sunk in the deepest ignorance. He then alluded to the Mission school in the Nagpoor city, and to the grants-in-aid. He said that an additional teacher was expected from Scotland; that one had been advertised for, and that suitable candidates might be expected to come forward. He then adverted to the intention of the Mission to establish a new school in the Sitabaldi bazaar, for which also a grant-in-aid was proposed. The only difficulty had been house accommodation, which difficulty he had now overcome. It was remarked that when education was being diffused among the villages, something ought to be done in Sitabaldi, which was immediately under the eye of headquarters. He then showed me several scientific and antiquarian journals illustrative of Druidical (or Scythian) remains, found alike in Great Britain and India.

"After breakfast he read a chapter from the Bible to the party and offered up a prayer. Shortly afterwards the conversation which took place was about the conversion of heathen youths. He said that Hindus were more accessible to the persuasive and convincing truth of the Gospel at an early age than at any other age; and that their consciences were then more tender and impressible. He mentioned the circumstances of the conversion of a Maratha youth some years ago, and of the efforts, partially successful, of the parents to gain influence and authority over the youth. He said that in his father's house the youth was treated as an

outcast, and relapsed into sin; that afterwards, when unquestionably a major (that is, arrived at full legal privileges) he returned to the Mission. Reference was then made to the recent case of Hemnath Bose of Calcutta. Mr. Hislop seemed to think that the judicial opinions recently given differed from those given by Chief Justice Burton at Madras; but agreed with that of Sir Erskine Perry at Bombay (in the case of Shripat, in his thirteenth year). He said that it would be satisfactory to missionaries in India, if it were finally decided by the highest judicial authority, as to whether or not a heathen parent could prevent his child, when under age, from openly professing Christianity. He thought that a child of sufficient sense and discretion might even, though under age, be allowed, without any hindrance from parental authority, to profess Christianity."

The Chief Commissioner and the missionary separated to do their daily duties till the late afternoon, when the whole party rode out to the village of Takalghat, three miles off. There Mr. Hislop pointed out the stone circles described in Chapter VIII., of which they had been reading in the morning. The Chief Commissioner gave orders that systematic excavations should be made in several of the mounds. As the party returned through Takalghat "we met a newly-appointed schoolmaster in company with the landlord of the village. We spoke to the men, and told the landlord that he should give the schoolmaster all the assistance he could. Mr. Hislop remarked that it was of consequence to raise the character of a schoolmaster in the eyes of the natives, inasmuch as the scholastic profession was not so highly esteemed as it ought to be by the villagers, and in the interior. We then returned to Bori. Before the party retired to rest that evening, Mr. Hislop offered up prayer as usual."

Sunrise on Friday saw Mr. Hislop and Lieutenant Puckle already at Takalghat, along with Mr. Jackson, a Public

Works assistant overseer. When the native labourers had been set to work, Mr. Hislop was joined by the Chief Commissioner and Captain H. Mackenzie, at late breakfast, in a tent pitched beside the workmen. Immediately afterwards the missionary conducted family worship in the simple Scottish fashion. What was it that led him to select for reading, and as a preparation for prayer, the fifth chapter of that First Epistle in which St. Paul, in the earliest of his writings, tells the Thessalonians who were the crown of all his converts—"ensamples to all that believe"—*Of the times and the seasons, brethren, ye have no need that I write unto you. For yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord so cometh as a thief in the night?* The writer of the narrative of the events of that time declares it to have been "a providential coincidence that a man should read out that particular chapter on the morning of the day in the evening of which he was unexpectedly to die." So the reader went on, in divine words, which at once reflected his whole past life as they did St. Paul's, while they unconsciously consecrated him for that "day of the Lord" which for him was to set in a few hours.

Let us, who are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love; and for an helmet the hope of salvation. For God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation by our Lord Jesus Christ, who died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with Him. Wherefore comfort yourselves together, and edify one another.

Warn them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient toward all men.

And the very God of peace sanctify you wholly: and I pray God your whole spirit, and soul, and body, be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Faithful is He that calleth you, who also will do it.

Brethren, pray for us.

With his soul supernaturally filled with the vision of the great Coming, Stephen Hislop prayed in the Spirit. "I remember that he concluded by soliciting the divine blessing on all that had been, and was still being, done for the spiritual conversion of the heathen in this land. After that he observed at some length on the efficiency of the divine word in convincing the human conscience. He said these things with a solemnity and earnestness that come quite clearly to my remembrance.

"After that we walked out and looked at the excavations that had been made, and the various articles of iron and pottery that were being exhumed. He remarked on the external appearance of the country, which was that morning fresh and green, the sky being stormy, with occasional sunshine. He said that this visit recalled to his recollection a period of fourteen years ago, when he first saw the place, and since which he had not seen it. He alluded to a former colleague, Mr. Hunter, in whose company, he said that he had first visited Takalghat.

"Alluding to ordinary and public affairs, he remarked that men whose conduct was conscientious before God were those best to be trusted in all affairs of life.

"Then we walked about, looking at the ancient circles of stone, and speculating on the character, habits, and institutions of the people who raised them, or rather who arranged them. He thought that all the remains then before us were tombs and burial-places. I asked him whether he supposed that these people had any temples or such like places of worship. He said he thought not; that probably they worshipped some spirit, or some of the elements; and that perhaps they had sacred groves, but nothing more. He observed that every one of the circles of stones had one outside stone towards the east. I asked him whether he thought that these people were migratory in their habits. He did not

give a positive opinion on that, but said that the large number of circles, or supposed tombs, indicated that a considerable population must have resided at this spot for some time; that there were, he believed, some eighty of these circles, in each of which at least one person, or perhaps several persons, had been interred. He added that it was not possible to tell how many persons had been buried, inasmuch as the bodies had been burned, and the others only interred. He said that when the Hindus first came to this part of India they probably found these people in possession and conquered them; that then, he supposed, they became mingled with the lower castes of Hindus; that the dwellings of the conquered were swept off the ground; and that these curious burial-places were all that remained. We then went to the top of a hillock close by, and pointed out the various rows and cross rows of these stone circles extending over the plain.

"Descending from this hillock we met some natives from the village, among whom was a man who had, some fifteen years before, assisted Mr. Hislop in examining the circles in this very place. They recognised each other, and conversed about those times. Then we met a Maratha gentleman of high rank (Nanajirao), who owned a large village in the neighbourhood. Mr. Hislop asked what had been done regarding the school in that village; and by his advice I gave Nanajirao various particular directions regarding the enlargement and improvement of this school, and the Nana went off to execute them. At that time Mr. Hislop said that he would, if possible, visit that school, and also another Government school on his way back to Nagpoor the next day.

"We then repaired to the tent and sat down. Mr. Hislop began mentioning various forms of infidelity which he had known at different times to exist in sections of Anglo-Indian society; adding, however, that there was much less now-a-days. He then adverted to the fear that an actual infidel

must probably entertain of death. He thought that a hardened infidel must have an apprehension (though perhaps unacknowledged) of future punishment, and that even the thought of absolute annihilation after this life, if really entertained, must be awful. We then began speculating as to whether any person could possibly persuade himself of annihilation after physical death.

"Mr. Hislop then asked me if I had read Guthrie's Sermons, and alluded to the vigorous nautical imagery contained therein; remarking that the waters of the sea afforded many awful physical illustrations of those spiritual dangers against which the preacher had to warn men. He then alluded to recent discussions at home regarding the Apocrypha, remarking that it ought never to be placed on a level with the Scriptures, and that if it were read authoritatively, or bound up in the same volume with the Bible, there was danger of its being taken as a part of the inspired word of God. He affirmed the perfect inspiration of Scripture, and the extreme danger of private judgment being permitted to consider which parts of Scripture were to be believed absolutely, and which not. Thence he turned to the Free Church of Scotland, to the purity of its origin and to the disinterestedness of its founders. He added that its leaders were men who had suffered for their principles, and were men of great power and might.

"The above was the last serious conversation which he ever held. It was now afternoon. I proposed that we should go back to Bori. He said that I had better start, as there might be business awaiting me; that he would stay a little and classify the various things that had been exhumed from the circles, and would examine the school at Takalghat, and would be in time for dinner at Bori. I then looked at the various things which were being classified and started for Bori, seeing Mr. Hislop no more."

From such worship, such labour, and such converse in the tent Stephen Hislop passed into the village, and there, amid a crowd of the parents, as the sun went down and it was becoming already dim, he examined the scholars and taught Christ. Besides kindness to the people, his object was to give moral support, courage, and dignity to the new schoolmaster. Was not the warning that precedes the great Coming this—"Comfort the feeble-minded, support the weak, be patient toward all men"? Mr. Jackson, the overseer, was the last European to see him, as, from the rude tombs of the aboriginal people, his figure became lost in the throng of the Maratha villagers and their children.

Takalghat is a wooded hamlet on a mound above the little Krishna, which feeds the Wana. The stream is easily forded, even in the height of the rainy season, and is dry at other times. Often, and last of all that morning, had Hislop crossed it. But by the evening the Chief Commissioner found so much water in the bed that he stationed a servant there to warn Mr. Hislop to cross higher up. The Wana, it proved, had been swollen by rain in the hills from which it flows, and had suddenly flooded the Krishna, making it a backwater for a time. About half-past seven, when the dusk was rapidly deepening into darkness, Mr. Hislop left Takalghat, taking neither guide, torch-bearer, nor orderly, though all were there, seeing that the ground was so familiar to him. "For a short time after leaving the village the horsekeeper was with him. But coming to open, smooth ground, Mr. Hislop cantered on, leaving the horsekeeper behind. This man returned then to Takalghat, intending to come on to Bori in company with other servants; he was the last person who saw Mr. Hislop alive. Mr. Hislop must then have cantered on for half a mile and more, till he came to this little stream, which is a mile distant from Takalghat, and two miles from Bori. Arriving at the stream he must have ridden into it,

supposing the water to be shallow. The fact of water being there may perhaps have struck him as peculiar, but he knew that it was generally empty, and doubtless supposed that it did not contain much water now. Moreover, it was getting dark. In reality, however, at that particular point the water was deep, and the horse on getting into it may have plunged. Certainly I infer from examination of the bridle and saddle, that both rider and horse must have been immersed; and that the rider was violently disengaged from the animal. He clung for a moment to the grassy bank and then sank. The horse was a strong, quiet, and steady animal; he recovered himself and got across the stream without the lamented rider. Life must have been extinct within a few minutes after submergence."

About eight o'clock the riderless horse dashed up to Bori bungalow, where were Sir R. Temple and Lieutenant Puckle. "This led us to apprehend that Mr. Hislop had been detained and lost his horse, or possibly had met with some accident. I instantly despatched two parties in search of him with torches, it being then dark. One of their party was accompanied by the torch-bearer who had just accompanied me on the same road, and the other by the horsekeeper of the horse I had just ridden. These parties searched the ground in different directions, between Bori and Takalghat, and not finding him, came on to Takalghat. Midway they found a small stream with water in it, fordable at some places, but at others deep and rapid. Mr. Jackson said that Mr. Hislop had left Takalghat for Bori about dusk that evening, and that as he had not arrived at Bori, and had not been met with midway by the searching parties, something must have happened. Mr. Jackson then went, together with the two searching parties and fresh torches, to the stream already mentioned. They went to a part of it where the water, when the parties last saw it, had been deep and rapid. In

the meanwhile, even in that short interval, the water had rapidly subsided; and there they found Mr. Hislop in the bed of the stream, drowned. The body was at once brought to Bori, and examined by a medical officer. Every effort at resuscitation was made without avail. The water had rapidly risen to a height of some ten feet above the bed, and had as rapidly fallen. When the searching party first arrived, the body must have been deep below the muddy turbid waters, and was not visible; when they returned shortly afterwards the water had subsided from a depth of ten feet to a depth of three feet, and then the body was found."

It was in a sitting posture, with turf in each hand, showing how nearly the missionary had succeeded in scrambling out of the torrent on to the bank. In one pocket was his Bible, in another a few trophies from the excavations of the day—characteristic of his twofold career. It was his faithful convert and collector, Virapa, who found the dear remains, and had them reverently carried to the Mission house. Mr. Cooper thus told the sad tale to Robert Hislop in Scotland:—

"NAGPOOR, 19*th September* 1863.

"MY DEAR FRIEND—The first sight of this letter will at once prepare you for heavy and sorrowful tidings from Nagpoor. Yes, we are, as a Mission, plunged in the deepest grief and are profoundly solemnised in spirit at the mysterious dispensation of God's providence, that has taken away from us your dear brother, the Rev. S. Hislop, and that in a manner very strange, very sudden, and very unexpected, as the following account will show. In an official letter to the Rev. Dr. Candlish, interim convener of the Foreign Missions Committee, announcing the very mournful event, I say, This very sad event has come upon us with awful suddenness and surprise. The manner of his death has been strangely peculiar and melancholy, so that we are struck dumb, yea,

confounded at the mysterious providence of God. The Chief Commissioner, Mr. Temple—with his secretary, Captain H. Mackenzie—was out in the district on a short tour towards the end of August; and just before coming into headquarters wrote to Mr. Hislop, asking him to come to Bori, a distance of about eighteen miles, to examine some cromlechs, or Druidical remains, in the neighbourhood, which were about to be excavated. Mr. Hislop complied, and early on Thursday morning, the 3d September, he left Sitabaldi in his usual health, intending (D.V.) to return on Saturday morning.

"This, however, was not the will of our heavenly Father, for on the following evening, while returning alone on horseback from Takalghat, where he had been engaged all day, to Bori, after it had become quite dark, he fell into a deep nullah, or rather a deep backwater of a small stream, which, during the rain, seems to rise to a considerable height, and was there found drowned. On the previous day, in company with Mr. Temple, while going to and returning from Takalghat, my dear colleague had crossed and recrossed at the very same spot, and again on Friday morning, along with Captain Puckle, a Christian friend, he went over it a third time, and on all occasions there was a mere driblet of water in the place which gave no one any concern. After walking to Takalghat on Friday morning, Captain Puckle, not feeling well, returned to Bori, leaving Mr. Hislop alone, but before breakfast Mr. Temple joined him, and they both remained together in a tent till about half-past five P.M., superintending the excavations that were going on. Mr. Hislop, always anxious to embrace every opportunity of serving his Master among the natives, instead of now returning with Mr. Temple to Bori, where dinner was prepared for them, remained behind to examine a Government school which has recently been established at Takalghat, and to deliver to the villagers the

Gospel message. This must have detained him till it was almost quite dark, when he left for Bori, pursuing the same path he had travelled the previous day and that morning. Mr. Temple, on coming to the nullah, found that its waters had risen considerably in consequence of rain that must have fallen among some neighbouring hills, although none had fallen that day at Takalghat. In order to discover a safe and easy passage, he went farther up the stream to a place where carts generally ford it, and got over without difficulty. Mr. Temple then detached one of his attendants to wait at the dangerous spot till Mr. Hislop arrived, and show him where to cross over. This man, however, either misunderstanding the orders given him, or afraid to remain alone in the dark, went back to the place, and finding that Mr. Hislop had not arrived, proceeded to Takalghat in the hope of meeting him. In this he failed, and in the meantime Mr. Hislop must have come up to the nullah alone and at the very spot which was to be avoided. Two sowars or horsemen should have accompanied him, as Mr. Temple had left them at Takalghat for that purpose, but from some cause or other they seem not to have been present when Mr. Hislop started to return to Bori. It appears also that the horsekeeper, who usually accompanies his horse, at the request of Mr. Hislop, after walking about half a mile while the ground was uneven, returned to Takalghat to come on with the party there. My dear colleague then seems to have cantered on towards Bori, and on reaching the nullah, and not in the slightest degree expecting to find deep water, must, with his horse, have been suddenly immersed. How he became detached from his horse is not known, but after an ineffectual attempt to get out, he must soon have sunk to rise no more. The horse on arriving at Bori without his rider was at once an intimation to his friends there that something had occurred, but they never for a moment imagined that it would be of a serious nature.

"Immediately parties were sent out in quest of Mr. Hislop, and although they went to the nullah, crossed over, and proceeded to Takalghat, he was nowhere to be found. Here a larger party was organised, and after searching the jungle on their way back, came again to the nullah, where they found the body in the water cold and rigid. It was then about eleven o'clock P.M., or about three hours after the sad event had occurred. Every effort to resuscitate was made, but in vain. The body was then conveyed to Bori and underwent a medical examination which resulted in the conclusion that death had been caused by drowning. And now it remained to communicate the very sad and distressing news to dear Mrs. Hislop. Captain Puckle wrote a letter and despatched it by a sowar, which reached me on Saturday morning about half-past seven o'clock. I was seated in my study, beginning to think of my preparation for Sabbath, and conceive, if you can, what a stunning shock I received as I read the first sentence, 'This is to prepare you for receiving all that remains of our dear friend Mr. Hislop.' Indescribably painful and acute were my emotions as I told my wife what had happened, and as it devolved on me, and that without delay, to go and break the awful intelligence to dear Mrs. Hislop, lest a report should suddenly reach her, Mrs. Cooper and I entered our room, and with burdened sorrowful hearts prayed to Him who is a help and refuge in every time of need to enable us to do so calmly and wisely.

"Dear Mrs. Hislop met us with her usual smile, and inquired after our welfare. It was with difficulty I could find utterance to reply, when she at once saw that all was not well within. 'What is the matter?' she feelingly inquired, when after a short pause I said I had just received a letter from Bori. Instantly it flashed on her mind that something of a serious nature had occurred to her dear absent husband, and in one breath exclaimed, 'What has happened?

O tell me, is he gone?' After a brief pause, and with deep suppressed feeling I replied, 'Yes, he is no more.' Oh, it was a terrible and stunning communication, but she received it with wonderful meekness and resignation. She cast herself upon the Lord at once, and, praised be His holy name, He hath not forsaken her in this time of sore trial and bereavement. Strength, comfort, and grace have been signally vouchsafed to His handmaid. May our gracious heavenly Father continue His rich and abiding consolations to her soul. We prayed together and sought our comfort and strength in God.

"Soon news of the very sad event spread in Sitabaldi, the city of Nagpoor and Kamthi; and all classes and ranks—Europeans,[1] East Indians, and Natives—felt that a great calamity had befallen not only the Mission but the Province at large. As a man and a missionary my dear colleague was greatly beloved and esteemed by all; and without exaggeration I may say that deep and sincere was the sorrow expressed and felt at his sad and melancholy removal. His loss to the Mission and Province is irreparable. The body was brought in between nine and ten o'clock, and in the evening it was committed to the dust till the resurrection morning, amidst a very large crowd of all classes of the community. At the grave I read some suitable portions of Scripture, and endeavoured to improve the solemn occasion by a short and pointed address. Next day (Sabbath) our usual public services were not held, but the time was spent in private, in silent meditation, prayer, and converse together on the wonderful but wise and gracious ways of God towards us. On the following Sabbath, however, I again endeavoured to improve the mysterious dispensation, both in Kamthi and

[1] When the Scots regiment at Kamthi learned their loss the wife of one of the sergeants at once rushed to Sitabaldi, to Mrs. Cooper, exclaiming, "What's happened to the minister? Naebody 'll streek" (lay out for burial) "the minister but mysel'!"

Sitabaldi, in a sermon on the text, 'And Enoch walked with God; and he was not, for God took him' (Gen. v. 24). The life, labours, and earthly end of that distinguished patriarch and prophet, we all felt, were very suggestive and appropriate to our peculiar circumstances as a Mission and community. May the Lord grant that we all may be warned and stirred up by this mysterious and solemn event.

"I have thus, my dear friend, given you a brief account of this very sad and melancholy event, as desired by dear Mrs. Hislop. It is a deep deep affliction to us all, and especially to her who is left a widow, and the children who are fatherless. But the Lord has done it, and it is our duty and privilege to submit to His holy will. I weep for a true friend and brother, and a colleague most tenderly beloved and prized. Our work was just beginning hopefully to expand—our educational plans and arrangements beginning to take a definite and tangible form, when suddenly we are deprived of him who was best fitted to carry on the Lord's work in this Province. Praying that the Lord may be with us all to comfort and sanctify us in this time of affliction and sorrow—I remain, my dear friend, yours affectionately in Christ,

"J. G. COOPER."

Thus, from drowning in boyhood, from shipwreck in young manhood, from the horror of hydrophobia, from the worse madness of an ignorant mob, and from almost accomplished massacre in the Mutiny of 1857 had Stephen Hislop been saved that the prayer of the first missionary to the heathen might be answered in his case—that the "whole spirit and soul and body be preserved blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ" to him in that Krishna backwater. "Faithful is He that calleth you, who also will do it" had, in the last struggle of a moment, been fulfilled to him.

He had walked with God, he had worked for God, and "he was not, for God took him."

Stephen Hislop could leave nothing behind him from the subsistence allowance which formed his stipend, save the mission-house. The annuities given to the widows and orphans of missionaries by his Church, from a fund created only the year before his death, were too small at that time for their support, and the local officials at once raised a capital sum "to enable Mr. Hislop's family to live in comfort." His library was presented to the College.

In very different circles all over India, evangelical and scientific, in the pulpit and the press, the ablest men bewailed the loss. But it was with Stephen Hislop as with all our best beloved who have gone before us, to swell the great cloud of witnesses—he was more ready than we who are left, to enter into the blessed rest which precedes the full resurrection joy. The leading Anglo-Indian Journal wrote thus of the event: "Short of the loss of the highest official in the Central Provinces, the death of no Englishman there could have been more serious to the welfare of the people. There has been taken away a most excellent missionary, a diligent teacher of the natives, a zealous preacher among his own countrymen, and a man of varied scientific acquirements which were constantly used for ends of practical value. His loss will be deeply felt by the community of Nagpoor, by whom his self-denying zeal and great scholarly acquirements were so much admired. Still more will it be felt by his own Church, which cannot afford to lose in the same year missionaries of such widespread usefulness in every channel of native improvement and Indian progress as Dr. Duff" (who was about to leave India) "and Mr. Hislop."

The Nagpoor Journal wrote that a deep gloom overspread the city, affecting high and low, on the announcement of the death of Mr. Hislop; and told how his remains were followed

to the grave by every individual in the station and by a large concourse of natives. It described the local impression of him as "an eminently silent but effectual worker." All "discovered in him that suavity of manner, that grave deportment, that fulness of knowledge which betokened a well-balanced mind. As a preacher he was precisely suited to benefit all who, having minds fitted for reflection, claimed the right of thinking for themselves." A few days after, when the residents met in the Nagpoor Central Museum to form The Antiquarian and Scientific Society of the Central Provinces, for researches especially in Archæology, Ethnology, and Geology, all declared that this would be the best memorial, by officials at least, of the man whose teaching had at once inspired and directed their action.

The Native, and above all the Native Christian, newspapers in Western India mourned their "irreparable loss." The *Dnyanodaya* ("Rise of Knowledge") Maratha newspaper declared, "This painful event will bring sadness to many hearts. The converts for whom Mr. Hislop has so long laboured will mourn for him as their spiritual father and best friend. The whole missionary body will mourn for him as one who was always earnest and faithful in his Master's cause." On the Sabbath, 13th September, after the burial, the Rev. J. G. Cooper preached to the military and civil residents and Native Christians of the whole district, from the record of Enoch's walk and translation, a sermon which they caused to be printed. Dr. John Wilson took as his text, when preaching on the same occasion to the Christians of Bombay city, "He gave some, apostles; and some, prophets; and some, evangelists; and some, pastors and teachers;" and published the Discourse as "an imperfect (and it is to be hoped only provisional) memorial of the departed to his numerous friends in India and in Britain, who remember and admire his work of faith

and labour of love and patience of hope in our Lord Jesus Christ."

The Foreign Missions Committee, then presided over by Dr. Candlish, thus reported to the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland their sense of Stephen Hislop's services and India's loss: "While possessed of deep conscientiousness and great firmness of character, he was yet conciliatory and kind; and a rare union of excellences had raised him to a position of high influence both with Europeans and natives in Central India. In preaching the gospel to the natives through their vernacular, in superintending Christian schools and teaching the young, and in ministering (often with great personal inconvenience) to our countrymen in India, his labours were incessant, and such as probably few men could have long endured. Had it not been for his entire consecration to the mission work, Mr. Hislop would have attained no small scientific eminence; and his actual acquirements in several branches of natural science were truly remarkable in one who gave to the study only those fragments of leisure which were properly due to recreation. Nor should it be forgotten that, on account of the regard entertained for him by the natives, Mr. Hislop, at a critical period during the Mutiny, was able to render a most important service to his country. The committee desire to humble themselves under the mighty hand of Him who has assigned them this sudden and very sore affliction; beseeching Him that men of a like spirit may be raised up to fill the void when devoted labourers are snatched away in the midst of their usefulness. They also desire to express their deep sympathy with Mr. Cooper, the esteemed colleague of Mr. Hislop; with the native church at Nagpoor; and, above all, with the widow of their departed friend and brother; and they affectionately commend her and her children to the loving-kindness of Him who is the husband of the widow and the father of the fatherless.

"Thus, as was remarked by one of the highest of Indian functionaries, one of the wisest and best missionaries was cut down in the zenith of his usefulness. The loss is incalculably great; and we must cry to the Lord of the harvest to raise up qualified labourers in the room of those who have thus, with startling suddenness, been removed. In the midst of our sorrow we must thankfully acknowledge the remarkable and spontaneous burst of sympathy towards the widow and orphan children of the deceased missionary. The sum subscribed in India is understood to be upwards of three thousand pounds, and that raised in Scotland and England upwards of twelve hundred. It is very pleasing to note that among the Indian subscribers were distinguished members of the Hindu and Parsee communities."

All that was mortal of Stephen Hislop was laid in the Nagpoor cemetery, half a mile to the west of Sitabaldi. Over the grave is a large flat memorial stone resting on pillars, and bearing these words in Marathi, that each of the people of the land may still hear the missionary's message, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved."

The letters of sympathy sent to the solitary widow by men and women of all classes, reveal still more in detail the impression made by Stephen Hislop on his contemporaries and his time. Of these the following are representative :—

FROM DR. JOHN WILSON.

"BOMBAY, 15*th September* 1863.

"MY DEAR MRS. HISLOP—What a day of sorrow to us in Bombay was yesterday, when we received the afflictive tidings from Nagpoor of the sudden and unexpected death of your beloved husband and our dear and highly-esteemed fellow-labourer in the evangelistic enterprise of India! Our sorrow was principally for your loss and that of your dear children afar

off; for our own loss, and that of all the Mission with which we are connected, for the loss of the Native and European churches at Nagpoor, and for the loss of the Free Church of Scotland and of 'all the churches' sympathising with the work of the Lord in this great and remarkable land. All the parties here mentioned must feel this bereavement in no common degree, for it deeply affects all their interests. It is a bereavement, however, from the LORD; and it has been ordered and carried into effect in the exercise of that wisdom which cannot err, of that faithfulness which cannot fail, and of that love in which all God's chastisements of His people originate. There are no 'accidents' in the all-comprehending providence of God, which extends to every object which exists and to every event which occurs; and the hand of God was in reality, though not in miraculous speciality, as much felt in the waters of the flood which carried your dear husband to the regions of glory, as in the fiery chariot by which Elijah was conveyed to heaven There were a great many concurrent circumstances in the case which are of striking and impressive character, and which seem to indicate to us the purpose of God as to the actual issue. They are such as the delay in starting from the school by the way where Mr. Hislop terminated his zealous missionary labours, his outriding the sowars to get speedily to the resting-place of his excellent friend Mr. Temple, the sudden rise of the river which he had easily passed in the morning, and his missing in the dark the *chaprasi* who had been purposely sent to warn him of the danger which existed. But, independently of these combining incidents, we have the assurance that in this, as well as in all other instances of the removal of the Lord's people from this sublunary scene, the predetermination of God has been carried into effect. 'Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of His saints.' That death is observed by Him when there is no human eye to witness it.

The Saviour is with the departing spirit to give it the victory, and by His hands it is received as it leaves the body.

"We are quite unable to choose for ourselves the manner of our death. God knows and orders what is best in the case of every individual. It is more nature than grace which prays for exemption even from sudden death. The great object of desire with us all should be *preparation* for death; and our great effort in connection with our friends who die in Jesus should be to realise the ineffable glory and bliss into which they are introduced when they are absent from the body and present with Him their Lord.

"The case of our dear friend, which so powerfully moves us at present, is very similar to that of my two beloved sisters Mary and Isabella Bayne, who were drowned near the Bridge of Allan in 1832; and it consequently calls forth peculiar sympathy with you from myself. To the God of all consolation we commit you in believing prayer. He who has enabled you already to say, 'Thy will, O Lord, be done!' will continue to comfort, uphold, direct, and bless you and yours. It is He who, in all the splendour and might of the Godhead, 'rideth upon the heavens by his name JAH,' who is a father of the fatherless and a judge of the widow in 'His holy habitation'; and He, with unspeakable and unfathomable love and all the resources of omnipotence at His disposal, will be your guide, guardian, and portion now and for ever.

"How sweet and instructive will be the memory of the dear departed to yourself and his many friends, and to thousands in the Church of Christ in many lands when they call to mind or become acquainted with his exalted character and works and patience. He will not at least be forgotten in Central India, where he laboured and died, and founded the first native church within its borders. He will not be forgotten in Scotland, which sent him as the bearer of glad

tidings to this sin-bound land. Though dead he yet speaks to multitudes, and will long speak to multitudes. I hope next Lord's day to thank God in the congregation—as I now do in the family—for the gift which He Himself gave our Mission in your husband, and to pray for grace to enable us to improve that gift, the consequences of which are not removed with him in whom they centred.

"Mrs. Wilson has already expressed to you her sympathy. She now joins with me in its reiteration.—I am, my dear Mrs. Hislop, yours in Christian affection,

"JOHN WILSON."

FROM REV. BABA PANDURANG TO HIS BROTHER CONVERTS.

"CHINDWARA, 10*th September* 1863.—I cannot express the sorrow and grief I had on receiving your letter regarding the death of Mr. Hislop, who was so estimable and kind to one and all of us. Dear friend, I could not refrain from shedding tears all that day. Where can we now look to him who so dearly and affectionately loved us? Can we now get one who so really took interest in us, who so earnestly desired our temporal and spiritual, social and moral good? Alas, alas, that sudden death has brought upon us and on our Mission a day of great trial and affliction! He was a father, friend, and teacher, as you say, really in heart and action. What heart would not render him gratitude and reverential respect? Was he not worthy of this? He was really and truly the object of love. His accidental death has brought a great calamity indeed. The deep and lasting wound that his death inflicted on us will never be effaced by any earthly object, though ever so kind and affectionate that object be. He is gone, gone for ever to wear the crown of glory. He is happy, yea happy, happy among immortals."

God took Stephen Hislop to Himself, just at the turn-

ing-point in the missionary history of the century, as it has proved. The planting of Schwartz, Carey, and their associates had been followed by the watering of Duff and Wilson, Anderson and Caldwell, and many other devoted workers. In his twenty years' career in the unexplored heart of India, in what was first a native state, and then a too long neglected British province, he was called to combine both apostolic duties. Not till he was removed in a moment could it be said that "God gave the increase." All over Central and Northern India at least, and to a large extent in the older Christian districts of South India, the "increase" has come, in its first-fruits, during the quarter of a century that has passed since September 1863. In his own Nagpoor districts and church, in the northern province of which Jabalpoor is the centre, in the hill fastnesses and forests of his beloved Gondwana, comparatively many others have entered into his labours. All will rejoice together—they and their successors who will yet gather in the full harvest from the wild Gonds, the cultured Hindus, and the proud Mohammedans. *He* never faltered amid the disappointments, the delays, the hardships, the neglect, as it seems to us now, which tried his faith. Slowly he thought, resolutely he willed, silently and swiftly he acted, with an enthusiasm which burned ever more intensely till the last appeal in the obscure village school, because drawn from the heart of Him who said, "I must be about my Father's business:" "My meat and My drink is to do the will of Him that sent me, and to finish His work:" "I have a baptism to be baptized with; and how am I straitened till it be accomplished!"

Stephen Hislop's clear thinking and wide knowledge, his self-sacrificing affection and heroic service, compelled the admiration of all who came under his influence, and drew many of them to his Master for ever. Though masterful in his work, he was so humble and affectionate that the nearer

a colleague was to him the more they loved each other. The relation of Hislop and Hunter to each other is at once an example and a rebuke to the many, both at home and abroad, who have almost every grace but that of self-effacing for the work's sake. Mrs. Colin Mackenzie[1] happily described the former, in 1852, as "a missionary pioneer, a man full of bodily and mental energy, practical sense, and indomitable determination;" and the latter as "of a gentle, poetic, sensitive temperament, great refinement of mind, and extraordinary accuracy and readiness in the use of his extensive acquirements, spiritual in his conversation, and altogether a sort of Melanchthon. They seem admirably suited to each other from their diversity of character and oneness of purpose."

As a preacher Hislop unconsciously followed the first martyr, Stephen, who, standing in the very presence of God, declared what he saw. He spake the first truths of the Gospel with earnest simplicity and prophet-like boldness. There still live in English and Scottish homes veterans who thank God for His servant whose works do follow him. Few of his native converts survive; not only these, but hundreds of his Hindu and Mohammedan students, now in positions of influence and authority, still speak of him with loving gratitude, and trace all that they are to his labours to do them good.

He was the most genial and lovable of friends, while ever tremendously in earnest. His quiet humour often became an effective weapon against hypocrisy and priestcraft, especially when these were used to delude the people. A Brahman pilgrim to the somewhat inaccessible shrine in the Mahadewa hills, annoyed at the toilsome path, exclaimed to the Christian missionaries, "Why does not your Jesus Christ keep the roads in better repair?" Hislop instantly replied

[1] *Life in the Mission, the Camp, and the Zenana, or Six Years in India*, p. 298, vol. iii. (1853).

that the inquirer erred in his geography, "You fancy you are in British territory; you are passing through a State almost entirely under Brahmanical influence." The man was speechless. On another occasion a crowd of peasants called their priest to answer the missionary's appeals, but he replied, "I have taken medicine to-day, and it is contrary to my religion to sit under a tamarind-tree."—"Let us remove to the shade of that mango-tree," said Hislop. The reluctant Brahman adduced the usual argument for idolatry, "I worship the idol because God is there." A herd of swine was feeding near, and, pointing to one of them, Hislop asked, "Is God in that pig?"—"Yes," replied the Brahman. "Then," was the rejoinder, "in consistency you are not only an idolater but a pig-worshipper."

Stephen Hislop led the second band of martyr or hero-missionaries in this missionary century, whose motto is *per crucem ad lucem.* As in the first three centuries, a living church is a martyr church. What St. Paul wrote of himself to the native church of Colossæ, which sprang from the house of Philemon, in the valley of the River Lycus, is true in its measure of every Christian and period of the Church's history: "I, Paul, am made a minister: who now rejoice in my sufferings for you, and fill up that which is behind of the afflictions of Christ." So far as the Church in any age represents Christ to the world, its members bear the ministerial sufferings and sorrows of the conflict which flows from the completed atoning sufferings of Christ.[1] Brainerd, Carey, Martyn, Williams, and earlier men like Peter Greig less known but not less devoted, mark the pioneering stage of modern missions. The Indian Mutiny, rebuking a spell of faithlessness in Christendom, and especially in the United Kingdom, introduced the

[1] See the Rev. Walter Abbott, Vicar of Paddington, on "Ἀγωνία the Measure of Success," in the *Church Missionary Intelligencer* for January 1888; also, Dr. R. N. Cust's *Missionary Address to Undergraduates of the University of Cambridge*, 23d January 1888.

second stage. Laying down his toiling life for Christ at the age of forty-six, Stephen Hislop was followed by the missionary Bishop Cotton, by Adam White, by Allen Gardiner, by the two brothers Gordon and Mrs. Gordon in Eromanga; by David Livingstone, leading a host of martyrs, such as Mackenzie, Hannington, and Parker; Stewart and M'Ewan, Sutherland and Rollo, William Koyi the Kafir, and Mrs. Cross; the Baptists of England and the United States on the Kongo; the native martyrs of Uganda; and Ion Keith-Falconer, who to Arabia gave not only his all but himself. As from the young Scottish noble and the young English bishop we trace the martyr-succession back for twenty-five years to Stephen Hislop's life-struggle for Central India and death-struggle in the little Krishna water-course, we once more proclaim our belief and our joy in missions for this among other reasons—that only the Christ of God could send such men and women so to live and so to die.

"'AFTER THIS I beheld, and, lo, a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, stood before the throne, and before the Lamb, clothed with white robes, and palms in their hands; and cried with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to our God which sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb. And all the angels stood round about the throne, and about the elders and the four beasts, and fell before the throne on their faces, and worshipped God, saying, Amen: Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honour, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen.'—Revelation vii. 9-12.

"We[1] commemorate—and, as far as our dull minds will let us, contemplate—the saints; the holy ones of God; the pure and the triumphant, be they who they may, or whence

[1] Charles Kingsley, on All Saints' Day, in Westminster Abbey.

they may, or where they may. We are not bidden to define and limit their number. We are expressly told that they are a great multitude, which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues; and most blessed news that is for all who love God and man. . . .

"The great multitude are *saints*. They are the holy ones, the heroes and heroines of mankind, the elect, the aristocracy of grace. These are they who have kept themselves unspotted from the world. They are the pure who have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb, which is the spirit of self-sacrifice. They are those who carry the palm-branch of triumph, who have come out of great tribulation, who have dared, and fought, and suffered for God, and truth, and right. Nay, there are those among them, and many, thank God—weak women, too, among them —who have resisted unto blood, striving against sin. . . .

"And what are they like, those blessed beings? The Gospel describes them to us; and we may look on that description as complete, for He who gives it is none other than our Lord Himself. 'Blessed are the poor in spirit: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are they that mourn: for they shall be comforted. Blessed are the meek: for they shall inherit the earth. Blessed are they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness: for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful: for they shall obtain mercy. Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God. Blessed are the peace-makers: for they shall be called the children of God. Blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness' sake: for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. Blessed are ye, when men shall revile you, and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice, and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in heaven.' This is what they are like; and what we, I fear, too many of us, are not like. But in proportion as we

grow like them, by the grace of God, just so far shall we enter into the communion of saints, and understand the bliss of that everlasting All Saints' Day which St. John saw in heaven.

"And what do they do, those blessed beings? Whatever else they do, or do not do, this we are told they do—they worship. . . . If there be mysteries in the universe still hidden from them, they know who has opened the sealed book of God's secret counsels, even the Lamb who is the Lion, and the Lion who is the Lamb; and therefore, if all things are not clear to them, all things at least are bright, for they can trust that Lamb and His self-sacrifice. In Him, and through Him, light will conquer darkness, justice injustice, truth ignorance, order disorder, love hate, till God be all in all, and pain and sorrow and evil shall have been exterminated out of a world for which Christ stooped to die. . . . Therefore they worship; and their worship finds a natural vent in words most fit though few, but all expressing utter trust and utter satisfaction in the worthiness of God. Therefore they worship; and by worship enter into communion and harmony not only with each other, not only with angels and archangels, but with all the powers of nature, the four beings which are around the throne, and with every creature which is in heaven and in earth, and under the earth, and in the sea. For them, likewise, St. John heard saying, 'Blessing and glory, and honour, and power, be unto Him that sitteth on the throne, and to the Lamb for ever and ever.'

"And why? I think, with all humility, that the key to all these hymns—whether of angels, or of men, or of mere natural things—is the first hymn of all; the hymn which shows that, however grateful to God for what He has done for them those are whom the Lamb has redeemed by His blood to God out of every kindred, and nation, and tongue; yet, nevertheless, the hymn of hymns is that which speaks not

of gratitude, but of absolute moral admiration—the hymn which glorifies God, not for that which He is to man, not for that which He is to the universe, but for that which He is absolutely and in Himself—that which He was before all worlds, and would be still, though the whole universe, all created things, and time, and space, and matter, and every created spirit likewise, should be annihilated for ever. And what is that?

"'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.'

"Ah! what a Gospel lies within those words! A Gospel? Ay, if you will receive it, the root of all other possible Gospels, and good news for all created beings. What a Gospel! and what an everlasting fount of comfort! Surely of those words it is true, 'Blessed are they who, going through the vale of misery, find therein a well, and the pools are filled with water.'"

APPENDIX

I

THE CASE OF NATHA SINGH, SIKH CONVERT TO CHRIST

JUDGMENT BY THE ASSISTANT COMMISSIONER OF SIALKOT, PANJAB

IN this case the accused is charged under section 363[1] Indian Penal Code with having conveyed one Natha Singh beyond the limits of British India without his consent, and thus committed the offence described in section 360 I.P.C.[2] The accused denies that Natha Singh was not a consenting party, and pleads that even if he had objected, he—the accused—was quite within the law in doing what he did. The facts are as follows:—I give them in their historical order.

Natha Singh, who appears to me to be a lad of seventeen or eighteen years of age, and who seems to me to possess exceptional intelligence and no little strength of character, is the son of one Hira Singh, a trader, and a Kapur Khatri by caste, who usually resides in Poonch. The accused is brother of Hira Singh, and usually lives in Gujrat, and is in partnership with his brother.

Natha Singh for some two years has been living with his

[1] "363. Whoever kidnaps any person from British India or from lawful guardianship, shall be punished with imprisonment of either description for a term which may extend to seven years, and shall also be liable to fine."

[2] "360. Whoever conveys any person beyond the limits of British India without the consent of that person, or of some person legally authorised to consent on behalf of that person, is said to kidnap that person from British India."

uncle and has been a regular attendant of the mission school at Gujrat. While there he came under Christian influences and took the missionary into his confidence. The missionary, after some consultation with his colleague and superior in Sialkot, advised the boy to tell his father of his change of views. On this the boy went to Poonch, where he remained some time.

In October last (1887) he again appeared in Gujrat, and made a formal request to Mr. Paterson, the missionary, for baptism. Mr. Paterson then came to Sialkot for advice, and, the day after his arrival, was followed by Natha Singh, who reiterated his request.

The Rev. Mr. Youngson, head of the Mission, refused to comply until the father in Poonch could be communicated with, and until the legal ability of the lad to leave his father's protection could be settled by competent authority. He further wrote to the accused telling him what had happened, and suggesting that he—the accused—should come to Sialkot and see the lad. The accused came on the 24th October along with the lad's cousin, one Karm Chand, who has since disappeared, and for whose arrest I have issued a warrant. For three days they had access to the boy.

On the 27th October Mr. Youngson came to the Deputy Commissioner, stating that this boy had been carried away by his relations by force, and he had reason to believe they had taken him to Jammu (Kashmir). By the Deputy Commissioner's order I held an investigation and recorded evidence under sections 159 *et seq.* Criminal Procedure Code.

I further issued a warrant for the arrest of accused and Karm Chand, the cousin, and later I issued a proclamation, and ordered the attachment of their property under sections 87, 88 of the same Code.

On the 24th of December, at 4.30 P.M., the accused surrendered himself to me, and the trial came on for hearing on the 3d of January (1888). On that date the counsel for the accused informed me that he would produce the boy, who would swear that he had left the missionaries of his own free will, and no violence had been used. The lad was then brought into court by his father, and deposed that he had been forcibly and without his consent taken from the custody of the Mission.

I will now give what I consider the evidence for the prosecution to have proved to be the real history of the events on the 27th October:—

About 6 A.M. the boy left the room in which he slept and went to a neighbouring well to wash. While there he was sud-

denly seized, gagged, and dragged off. He was taken down the road to the station, where he was concealed in the house of the telegraph clerk, also a Kapur Khatri, until the latter, having finished his duties in connection with the arrival of the morning train, could procure an ekka (cart). The ekka was brought and stationed on the Jammu road, some distance from the station, the boy was put on the ekka and taken across the frontier. The evidence in support of the above story is to me convincing. The telegraph clerk alone, of all the witnesses who saw the boy in company with the accused, says he was cheerful and happy. This man, Bhaggat Singh, gave evidence before me in both the preliminary investigation and the subsequent trial, and he lied throughout. When I first took his evidence, the day after the event, he was so nervous that it required some encouragement on my part to enable him to speak at all. His deposition needs only to be read to be disbelieved, and although his manner of lying shows he is not as yet an adept in the art, the revelation of character he has made before me stamps him as unfit for the confidential position he at present occupies.

The counsel for the accused did not produce any evidence to contradict the weight of testimony on the other side, and satisfied himself by attempting, through cross-examination, to bring out discrepancies between the story told by Natha Singh and those related by the witnesses. He also dwelt in his pleading on the feeble efforts which, on his own showing, the lad seems to have made to effect his escape. I allow that Natha Singh has not shown, although his assailants were sturdy men, that he did all in his power to get away. But the boy was afraid, and, as he exclaimed when he came into my court, he resolved to keep silence until he could meet an Englishman to whom he might appeal. He felt it was hopeless to appeal to any one but an Englishman, and this feeling explains the writing of the letter and the declaration alluded to below. Again, both these discrepancies and the apparent apathy of the boy are, I think, sufficiently explained by the nervous terror with which the sudden attack upon him seems to have filled his mind. Not only was he incapable of realising much more than the few main events which meant so much to himself, but the sudden and bold nature of the attack prevented his appreciating all the possible means of escape.

The accused's counsel further adduced the letter written from Poonch by Natha Singh (Exhibit A) and the declaration (Exhibit B) on the file, as proofs that the boy had gone willingly. Natha Singh allows having written both these documents, but states he

did so under pressure and in fear of his life. The explanation is reasonable, and, although the declaration was written within an hour of his deposing in court to the exact contrary, I am clearly of opinion that the circumstances under which it was written are sufficient, even were there no other considerations to be looked to, to render it valueless as evidence on behalf of the accused. It should be remarked also that the boy swore that the counsel for the accused used his influence to get the document written, and this testimony was allowed by the defence to go unchallenged.

Such are the facts. The sole question now is, Do these facts constitute an offence under section 360? The defence says that, even admitting these facts, the answer must be "No," and gives the following reasons:—

The consent required is an alternative consent, *i.e.* "the consent of that person *or* of some person legally authorised to consent on behalf of that person." The law here contemplates the case of a minor. Act IX. of 1875 lays down the age of a minor as any age under eighteen years. The boy, on his own showing, is seventeen and a half, therefore on this occasion he was, in the eye of the law, incapable of giving consent. His uncle, in the absence of his father, stood *in loco parentis*, and was entitled to use all reasonable means of compulsion to make the boy go wherever he, the uncle, thought best. Accused's counsel further strengthened this argument by reference to the provisions of sections 81 and 92 of the I.P.C., as there was "no criminal intention to cause harm," and the act was done "in good faith for the purpose of preventing or avoiding other harm to person," and further, as "the circumstances were such that the person was incapable of giving consent."

I do not agree with the above explanation. If the legislature contemplated the case of a minor, why is that idea not given expression? The following section 361, which deals with the same offence, when the act is begun and ended within the limits of British India, does so expressly lay down the law as to carrying off a minor, and goes on to state that *quâ* this offence, the age of a minor is fourteen years and under if the minor be a male. Should, therefore, this argument for the defence be admitted, I think that it follows that the boy, Natha Singh, whom the accused allows to be above sixteen, must be considered for the purposes of this trial to be no longer a minor.

This being my view of the law it is unnecessary for me to state how far sections 81 and 92 apply, though on the face of their wording it is clear that the act was not done to "prevent

other harm to person"—as, before the law, a change of religion cannot be described as "harm"—and in section 92 "incapable of giving consent" cannot be taken to imply a legal incapability under any enactment of the legislature; it clearly means a mental incapability of forming a correct judgment regarding a given set of circumstances.

The question then comes to be, If a minor, in the legal acceptation of the word, is not meant, when has the person's consent to be considered, and when is that of the legally authorised person to be preferred? I maintain the law gives the courts the power to decide this in each particular instance, as it happens to arise. And it is impossible for any one who sees the boy and converses with him for some time to resist the conviction, that in such a matter as gave rise to this offence, and with which he is so intimately connected, he is eminently capable of forming an independent and responsible opinion.

This being so, and assuming that the accused, as his uncle, would come under the definition of a legally authorised person, I hold that his, Natha Singh's, consent was necessary before he could be removed from British territory.

Accused's counsel further contended that this boy was, in his relatives' eyes, in bad company; that his uncle felt that, as the lad had been sent to him by the father, he was responsible for his conduct, and that it behoved him, if he could not persuade the boy to do what was right, to use all reasonable coercive measures to remove him from pernicious influences: that he considered the father's guardianship was what the boy required, and that he accordingly took him to his father, who, unfortunately, lived across the border; that he acted in the boy's best interests and with the sole desire of saving him from becoming a renegade.

Now, in considering whether the taking away of the boy comes under this section I have nothing to do with the man's motives: I have to look to what actually happened, and I am not bound either, at this stage of the proceedings, to take into account the man's ignorance of our laws. He had for three days been afforded unimpeded access to the boy, and there was no chance of any irrevocable step being taken by the boy, as the missionaries had promised to withhold baptism till they could ascertain the boy's legal ability to act for himself. And I consider it my duty here to put on record that throughout the whole history of this case, as far as that is known to me, the missionaries have acted with scrupulous fairness and honour.

The accused had it in his power to make an application to the magistrate of the district for custody of this boy, though it

by no means follows that, supposing he could have proved the minority, his application would have been granted, as the law gives courts discretion in such matters. Accused's counsel produced a ruling of the Chief Court, P. Rec., No. 15 of 1887, *Uit Sahibzadi* v. *M. C. Newton*, to prove that the missionaries could not claim the guardianship of the boy. But, as I have already shown, that ruling bears only very indirectly on this case. As the notes to section 360 point out, this offence may be committed on a child as well as on a grown man. The question of the proper guardian of Natha Singh is one for a civil court to decide.

In this case the accused took the law into his own hands, and he must bear the consequences. Section 363 provides the punishment for this offence, and lays down a maximum of seven years. I am not prepared to deny that the motives which induced the accused to act as he did, were, from his point of view, laudable, and so far as he was ruled by a desire to keep the lad from changing the religion of his fathers, he has my sympathy. Considering also the facts of the case, that the boy was his own nephew, that he felt himself in a degree answerable to the boy's father, that he took the boy straight to his father's house, and that no brutal violence was used, I think there is no necessity for a heavy sentence.

SENTENCE.

I sentence the prisoner Narain Singh to be imprisoned for one year. The imprisonment shall be simple.[1]

(Signed) J. R. DUNLOP-SMITH.

[1] On appeal to the District Judge the prisoner was released. The young Sikh was baptized, having in court declared his desire to go with the Missionaries.

II

A MODEL MISSIONARY ADDRESS

To the Students of the New College, Edinburgh

When a stranger lands on the shores of Western India he sees realised before him the dreams of his youth regarding Oriental scenery. A luxuriant tropical vegetation, including various kinds of palm, and intermingled with rice-producing swamps everywhere meets his eye. As, however, he proceeds into the interior, the soil becomes drier and the landscape barer. Acacia trees, armed with thorns and distilling gum, succeed the waving palms, and instead of a succession of square plots of rice inundated with water, he meets with fields of cotton and of flax or wheat, growing scarcely above a foot high.

This variety in appearance and products is typical of the country in other respects. Among its 180,000,000 of people there are at least four different nations. One of these consists of the original inhabitants, who once occupied the plains, but are now confined to the woody and mountainous districts, like the Welsh of our own isle. Others are Hindus, who, about 3000 years ago, came into the country by way of Afghanistan, and drove the aborigines into their present retreats. A third nation, found chiefly in the Bombay Presidency, are Parsees, who fled for refuge to India to avoid persecution from the Mohammedans when they overran Persia. The fourth are Mussulmans, who, after establishing themselves in Persia and the adjoining countries, invaded India and conquered the Hindus. All these, with the exception of the Parsees, who adopted the speech of the district in which they first settled, differ in language. The jungle tribes have various dialects of their own, not one of which has yet been reduced to writing; the Mussulmans, wherever they are scattered, retain their Hindustani; and the Hindus have eleven or twelve languages among themselves, into which the New Testament has already been translated. As might be expected, there is the same diversity in religion. The mountaineers adore genii, or spirits, who are supposed to preside over the earth and the waters, the hills and the forests; the Parsees offer prayers and praises to the elements, especially fire; and the M[illegible]sulmans

believe in one God, of whom Mohammed is declared to be the last and greatest prophet. None of these are avowedly idolaters like the Hindus, who form the great bulk of our Eastern subjects, and with whom principally our Missions have had to do.

Hinduism is a monstrous compound of error, impurity, and tyranny. Though professing to recognise one Supreme Being, it robs him of all activity, and all those moral attributes which we reckon peculiarly divine. According to it the universe has to do with three emanations from Brahma, each of whom has his wife, to whom he proves unfaithful, whom he scolds, and by whom he is scolded in turn. The members of this triad lie to each other, quarrel with each other, and one even cuts off another's head, or rather one of his many heads. Brahma, the first in order, by whom the world is said to have been created, is represented as now suffering from the curse of a Brahman, and deprived of all religious homage for having been guilty of falsehood. Vishnu, the preserver, is stated to have appeared on earth in corporeal shape nine times, while a tenth incarnation is still expected. In the bodily form of Krishna, certainly the most popular of all his avatars, he lied and stole, and indulged in all manner of lasciviousness. Shiva, the destroyer, according to Hindu accounts, was nothing but an impure red-eyed debauchee. Besides these deities, and their various incarnations, there are 330,000,000 of gods, who, however, were so helpless, that a king of Ceylon, named Rawan, having by the practice of austerities acquired great merit and wonderful power, carried them all away captive and lodged them in a dungeon.

You may readily imagine that the adherents of this religion are sunk in depravity and misery. Men cannot rise above the level of their gods. If the worshipped are held forth as guilty of falsehood and deceit, it cannot be expected that the worshippers should be superior to these sins. If their deities are described as full of envy, malice, and all uncleanness, what can we suppose but that the community at large should be pervaded by these vices. And this is too true. The late rebellion has cast a lurid light on the character of the actors in it.

And on what is founded their hope of deliverance from sin and its consequences? Their reliance is on the efficacy of their alms and prayers, their repentance and tears, their pilgrimages and penances. No doubt these last are of a painful kind. They will hold up their arm above their head until the sinews stiffen and the withered member cannot be withdrawn. They will pierce their bodies with iron skewers, and submit to be whirled about in the air for an hour at a time, suspended from a trans-

verse beam by a hook in the muscles of the back. They will go hundreds of miles, measuring the weary way by the length of their body, till at last they reach some sacred city and bathe in the stream of some holy river.

With their absurd doctrines, disgusting idols, and obviously insufficient remedies for sin, one might suppose it would be easy to convince them of their error and danger. But experience shows the opposite. The Hindus are not like the last generation of South Sea Islanders, with scarcely any faith or civilisation to boast of. They have books that are perhaps the oldest in the world next to those of Moses, a subtle priesthood to exalt the credit of their books and keep their countrymen in bondage, a civilisation which dates back to a period when Europe was in barbarism, and, above all, a system of caste, which fetters the minds of the people, and deters them from change under the pain of an excommunication worse than death.

But passing from statements about India in general, let me turn to that part of it with which I am best acquainted.

The Province of Nagpoor, where our Mission is established, contains between four and five millions of inhabitants. Situated in the interior of the country and almost equidistant from the three great Presidency cities, and having till recently been under the government of a native prince, it has not been subjected to much European influence. In the south and east there are impenetrable jungles, which you will find put down in maps as "unexplored territory," and which are as little known as those parts of Africa which the adventurous foot of Livingstone has not yet trod. But even in the open country, where I have gone to preach the Gospel, there are many tracts in which a white face has never been seen.

Among the aboriginal tribes inhabiting our jungles the most numerous are called Gonds. At the time I settled at Nagpoor the horrible rite of human sacrifice prevailed. These are the same as the Khonds, o whose Meria sacrifices you must have heard. Meria is the name given to children whom these mountaineers buy from men that have kidnapped them on the plains. They are kept and treated with great respect until the recurrence of a great annual festival, when their body is fastened in the cleft of a tree, and their flesh is literally torn from their living members, and the shreds carried away in triumph by their savage murderers to bury in their fields, as an offering to their great earth goddess, and a means of insuring abundant crops. Though no admirer of the general character of our Indian policy, I am thankful to be able to say that by the efforts of the British

Government for the suppression of this crime, as well as the kindred ones of infanticide, thaggi, and sati, thousands of lives are now annually preserved that were formerly sacrificed on the altar of a horrid superstition. For the attainment of these ends expensive agencies have been maintained in a spirit of disinterestedness for which the East India Company could not always claim credit, but which is worthy of a nation that surrendered twenty millions of money to loosen the bands of the slave. Drunkenness is a prevailing vice among the jungle tribes. Their religious observances invariably end in intoxication. Of course, having no written language, they are unable to read. And yet in other respects they are an interesting class of men. They are honest and truthful, intelligent, energetic, and manly. A Mission to them would not have to encounter the same difficulties as to the Hindus. An attempt was made in 1843. It is among a kindred and neighbouring race that the German missionaries are labouring with much success at Chutia Nagpoor. And in Burma it is a similar hill tribe, known as the Karens, who are now receiving the Gospel message with so much avidity from the American Mission.

The inhabitants of the plains, consisting chiefly of Hindus, with a small sprinkling of Mohammedans, are just the opposite of this class. They are forbidden to taste strong drink, and in general are free from intemperance, but they make up for this by indulgence in all other forms of sin. Moral distinctions, though *known* among Hindus, seem not to be *realised* in the same way as in other countries. Their indolence and apathy may in a great measure be attributed to the climate, and their helpless dependence on others to the long period they have continued as a subject nation; but their falsehood, deceit, and ingratitude may be most justly ascribed to that degrading superstition by which they have been for a longer period enslaved.

Nagpoor, the capital of the Province, is a stronghold of Brahmanism. Being for generations the seat of a wealthy native court, it attracted from all parts of the country members of the priestly caste anxious to bask in the sunshine of royal favour. They were not only the keepers of the Raja's conscience but the rulers of his country as well. His prime minister was a Brahman, his general was a Brahman, and Brahmans were usually the heads of departments at the capital, as they were the governors of the different districts. Every day his Highness entertained a certain number of priests, and drank water consecrated by the immersion of their great toes. Once a year as many as fifteen or twenty thousand collected at the palace, and each received

according to his reputation for sanctity and learning a gift from the royal treasury. This, I regret to say, was continued, though on a diminished scale, by our Government after the annexation of the country. The festivals were celebrated with great splendour while the Raja was living, and to our shame be it mentioned the representative of the British nation on more than one annual occasion contributed to the eclat. At the Dasara, when the native prince went out of the city to worship a tree, the British Resident and a detachment of British troops went out also from their cantonments and saluted him by the way. Again, on the Holi, a season of unbridled license under the name of religion, like the ancient Saturnalia, when men covered each other with streams of filthy water, and insulted women with catches of still more filthy songs, the British Resident was wont to pay the Raja a visit of state, when he had to submit to the indignity of receiving some of the pollution of the feast on his person. There was another festival observed at Nagpoor, which reminded me of the worship of Baal or Moloch. A trench was dug and filled with live charcoal, and those who had made a vow for deliverance from sickness or for some other temporal benefit on the accomplishment of their wish ran through it. This was accompanied by tearing the flesh and torturing the body, as we read in the Scripture allusions to the ceremonies most acceptable to the Babylonian god.

The Mission at Nagpoor was established in fulfilment of the dying request of an officer's lady. She had shortly before been brought to a knowledge of the truth, and while glowing with all the ardour of a first love to her Saviour she received a large sum of money which had been given up as lost. This she requested her husband to devote to the Lord's cause, and he, having soon after herself been converted, was forward to comply with her wish. The money (upwards of £2600) was offered to the Church of Scotland before the Disruption, but at that time the Church had not faith to enlarge her operations, and the generous offer was not immediately accepted. It was in this position when the Disruption occurred; but the officer, though an Englishman and an Episcopalian, was at no loss to recognise the true Church of Scotland after that event, and he renewed his proposal to the ecclesiastical body which had the confidence of all the missionaries both to Jews and Gentiles. The Free Church, with a reliance on her Great Head and a zeal in her Lord's service which I trust will ever animate her, not only undertook to carry on all the existing stations of the Foreign Missions in addition to the support of the ministry at home, but to found the new

station at Nagpoor. Before the end of 1844 I had arrived in India, and in February thereafter I found myself, in the providence of God, settled on the outskirts of a city with a population of 130,000 souls, wholly given to idolatry. To communicate with them I commenced the study of their language—Marathi, which extends all the way up from Bombay. A useful degree of acquaintance with a vernacular tongue may be acquired in the space of a year, but for some years after the student must be adding to his stock of words and idioms ere he is thoroughly competent to meet a Brahman in discussion. Before I was able to preach to adults I thought it right to establish schools for the young.

Some have a doubt regarding the educational operations of the India Mission. Let me tell you the grounds on which I acted. (1) To confer a favour is to conciliate. A missionary who heals a disease, finds a more willing hearer when he speaks of the great Physician; and a missionary who communicates useful knowledge that can at once be appreciated by his pupils, gains an influence over them, which disposes them to listen to his spiritual instructions. (2) The secular instruction removes prejudices, and in this sense also it clears the way for the consideration of God's Word. You cannot teach a lesson on geography or astronomy without overturning some statement on these subjects in the Hindu sacred books, and in proportion as you weaken the hold which these have on the minds of your scholars you prepare them for receiving the doctrines of the Bible, which it is your highest aim to teach them. (3) In teaching these doctrines in a school you are placed at an advantage. In the street you have no control over your audience. They come and go. They may catch the beginning, middle, or end of a discourse, but seldom will they hear the whole. Or if you have them one day they are absent the next. But in a school you have youthful minds listening to you from the beginning to the end of a Scripture lesson, and not only one day but for days, weeks, and months you may be permitted to ply them with those truths, which are able to make them wise unto salvation through faith which is in Christ Jesus. And lastly, the converts that are made in this way, having had their minds disciplined during their education, become more intelligent Christians, and are better fitted to expound to others those saving truths, which they have learned themselves. At the same time I think it expedient that as soon as possible they should go forth to preach to their countrymen in their own language the wonderful works of God.

But as missionaries commanded to make known the Gospel

to every creature we cannot neglect the claims of the old; and hence at Nagpoor there was preaching at our branch schools to the adults who passed by. And every year for a month, when the schools were vacant, tours were made into the neighbouring districts, and the Gospel carried to villages that would not otherwise have heard it. You may wish to learn something about our village preaching. We rose early in the morning, and having sent on our tent to a village say ten miles off, we started and reached the first of the intermediate villages about sunrise. Here we preached and then proceeded to the next village, where a second address was delivered, if possible, before the people went out to their fields. By this time the sun was hot and we had to mount our horse and hasten to our encamping ground. There, after a late breakfast, we received visitors from the village, and endeavoured to sell tracts. In the afternoon we preached again, and advanced two or three miles farther on our journey. Our addresses, of course, were very different from sermons in this country. We generally began by referring to some passing event or some object that was interesting to the people themselves, and then sought to lead their thoughts on from the works of God to their great Creator; and, however injurious might have been the influence of their mythological books upon their minds, we always found that they possessed deep down in their intuitions the idea of a Supreme Being, who was at once the Former, Preserver, and Judge of the world. We spoke of the attributes of this God—His goodness, His holiness, His justice; and referred to the guilt of men and the necessity of punishment if there was no adequate atonement.

To this extent the Hindu agriculturists are ready to go along with the Christian preacher. Then we show the insufficiency of all human modes of salvation, such as washings, fastings, pilgrimages, and even repentance, and enlarge on the love of God in sending His own Son to fulfil all righteousness in our stead, and to suffer the just for the unjust. But we are made to learn that the offence of the Cross has not ceased, for when our hearers find they must give up their own merits for Christ's, and see the trials and sacrifices to which such a course would necessarily expose them, they go back on the address which they have heard, and begin to dispute propositions which they have formerly admitted. Hardly a discourse can be ended without having to encounter the pantheistic notions that God is not only everywhere but is and does everything, that He speaks and acts through us, and that there is no distinction between truth and falsehood, right and wrong, and consequently no need of an

atonement. Thus do we discover that there are perverse speculations, even among the peasantry, by which Satan blinds their minds and hardens their hearts. I have said that on our tours we sell books. In this there is a special agency kept up all the year round. A native Christian colporteur makes extensive journeys through the Province, and sometimes into the adjoining territories, persuading the people to buy his little publications, and explaining their contents when there is no reader to be found. This the Mission has always regarded as a most important means of doing good, and thoroughly evangelistic in its character.

I would now briefly refer to the effect of the various agencies employed by the Mission. I shall give you a single illustration from the old and another from the young.

Yadoji, when I first knew him, was about sixty years of age. He was an intelligent farmer, living in a village about seventy miles from Nagpoor. One day he came to my house for a book containing the same doctrine as a little one that he had been reading. This, he said, he had some time before obtained in the shop of a merchant in the city, who, not valuing it himself, tossed it to him to do with it as he pleased. It was the *First Book for Children* in Marathi, beginning with the alphabet and ending with some simple sentences full of Christian truth. This Yadoji took home, and, as he read about Jesus dying for his salvation, he thought of Him by day and dreamed about Him by night. The little book contained the ten commandments; and the old man, feeling it right to observe the Lord's Day, made a division of his only room. On the one side he sat with his book and read and prayed; on the other his wife, who could not understand what had come over him, sat with her wheel and span. Gladly I gave him a Marathi New Testament, and soon after visited him at his village. I found that in about three months he had read the New Testament through, and could turn to passages that had struck him during perusal. There was one mistake, however, into which he fell, though naturally enough in his circumstances. Not knowing the interval of time that had elapsed since the book of the Revelation had been written, he sometimes prayed that the backsliding churches there mentioned might repent and do their first works, and so be saved from the punishment with which they were threatened. In about a year after he was baptized, when he was cast out by his relatives and disowned even by the wife of his bosom. He continued with the Mission for another year, making known the truth which he had embraced, when he revisited his village in the hope of inducing

his wife to live with him. By the way he was seized with fever, and on reaching his old home he was denied admittance to it, and sent to the cowhouse, where he lay till he died. Before his decease he told his relatives that he died a believer in Jesus, and that they were not to burn his body like a heathen's but to bury it like a Christian's. The relatives, who had treated him with cruelty while alive, disobeyed his injunctions after death. His body was burned on the banks of the river, and his ashes cast into the stream; but his soul, I believe, is now with his Saviour and his God.

My next case is that of Baba Pandurang, a Brahman boy instructed in one of our city schools. When about fifteen years of age he expressed his desire to follow Christ. As he was an intelligent youth, this wish of his, had he lived at Madras, would have been respected by the courts of law. But he resided at Nagpoor under a native prince, and though he had taken refuge with us and broken his caste, he was peremptorily demanded by the British Resident, handed over to the Raja, arraigned before a Brahmanical court convened in the palace, and for having boldly declared in the presence of all that he wished to be a Christian, was sent to prison, where he remained, with the sanction of a countryman of our own, for upwards of a quarter of a year. Being all that time cut off from Christian intercourse, and perpetually assailed with the solicitations of sorrowful parents and the arguments of sophistical priests, his constancy gave way, and he was released from confinement on his denying Christ. But in a year after his convictions returned, and when he fled to us again for protection not even the British Resident had the courage to order him a second time to be given up. He is now a consistent Christian, a catechist labouring among both old and young of his countrymen, and a candidate for the ministry.

The number of adults baptized since the commencement of the Mission is forty-four. Our schools are attended by 800 pupils, and we have to minister to between two and three hundred of our countrymen belonging to the military service. I cannot conclude without what has been called "recruiting."

Though we have to thank God that He has granted us some measure of success at Nagpoor, yet we have hitherto made only the most inconsiderable beginning of the work there. What are two missionaries (alas! too frequently reduced to one), but what are even two missionaries to four or five millions of people? There are hundreds of villages in our Province that have never heard the Gospel—hundreds that contain not even one individual

able to read. Our cry is for teachers and preachers. And the same cry proceeds from all our Mission stations. The number of our missionaries has been diminished by death; their strength has been reduced by disease and manifold labour, and even to supply existing vacancies one or two men are required. But surely God expects more than this at our hands. In vain will be all the lessons which He has been teaching us by recent events in India, if at a time when the stewardship of that land has afresh been given to our nation, and the openings for usefulness are every year becoming wider and more numerous, if at a time when He is pouring out His Spirit on our people at home, and spreading among them a deeper concern about their own souls and the souls of others, we shall be content simply to maintain our ground and shut our eyes to the millions of our fellow-subjects that are perishing for lack of knowledge. At the call of duty the soldiers of an earthly monarch make light of heat and cold and dangers by sea and land, and shall the soldiers of the Cross shrink from an equal measure of self-denial? When the stability of our power in the East was imperilled by the late revolt, Britain did not grudge her treasure or the flower of her chivalry to avert the evil and reconquer the rebellious districts; and shall the churches of the land be more parsimonious of their money or their men, when they know that the sacrifice is to bring India, that has been so long ruled over by Satan, under the blessed sceptre of the Saviour King. The Churches in the South have increased their agency, and why should not the Church of our fathers? The English seats of learning are sending forth their best men—men like French[1] of Agra, a double first, equally eminent in classics as in mathematics, who would not enter a place of safety if his native Christian brethren were to be left to the tender mercies of the Sepoys; or like the late lamented Ragland, who left his academic dignity and spent the proceeds of his fellowship itinerating through the villages of Tinnevelli. I am persuaded that there will be found the same self-sacrificing spirit among the students of our own halls and the preachers of our own beloved Church.

[1] First Bishop of Lahore.

3d December 1859.

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BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

The Life of William Carey, D.D., Shoemaker and Missionary, Professor of Sanskrit, Bengali, and Marathi, in the College of Fort-William, Calcutta. With Portrait and Illustrations. LIBRARY EDITION, price 16s. POPULAR EDITION, 7s. 6d. *London*: John Murray. 1885.

"Dr. George Smith, author of the well-known lives of Dr. Duff, and of Wilson of Bombay, continues his biographies of Indian missionaries by a Life of Dr. William Carey, in many respects the most remarkable man of the three. Carey has had to wait long for a biography; previous accounts of him have all been rather sketchy; but he has at length found one with unusual qualifications for the task, who has produced an altogether admirable work. Dr. Smith began to collect materials for this work during his long residence in Serampore, which was begun when Carey was only twenty years dead, and in the course of which he got thoroughly acquainted with the nature of Carey's work in India, and had access to everything likely to illustrate it. These materials he has worked up with great literary skill and finish, into one of the most instructive and readable biographies we have seen."—*Contemporary Review*, March 1886.

"It is long since we have read any book so full of the highest inspiration, and presenting a portrait of the very grandest religious and moral beauty, in which simplicity and humility of feeling are as prominent as quiet greatness of achievement."—*British Quarterly Review*, January 1886.

"This biography brings out the man thoroughly, and it will be welcome to a much wider circle than that which is interested in Missions."—*The Spectator*, 21st November 1885.

This "biography of Carey is a fascinating book."—*The Scotsman*, 25th December 1885.

"We have spoken plainly on the points of which we have to complain in this biography. But we hope that the very fact of our having done so will serve to emphasise our welcome of this really valuable volume, and our tribute to the honour of the great missionary who is the subject of it."—*The Mission Field*, published for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, May 1886.

The Life of John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., for Fifty Years Philanthropist and Scholar in the East. With Portrait and Illustrations. Second Edition. Price 9s. London: John Murray. 1879.

"Dr. Smith's life of the late Dr. John Wilson of Bombay is, with exception, one of the most valuable records of missionary work in India ev submitted to the English public, and equally worthy of its subject and author. . . . Dr. George Smith's mature knowledge of Indian af enabled him to give an admirable presentation of Dr. Wilson's life an in connection with the great public improvements and progress of the years, extending over two generations of official service, during which he resided in Bombay. Dr. Smith has given us not a simple biography of Dr. Wilson, but a complete history of missionary, philanthropic, and educational enterprise in Western India, from the Governorship of Mountstuart Elphinstone, 1819-27, to that of Sir Bartle Frere, 1862-67. He has arranged the many subjects with which he has had to deal, and the materials placed at his disposal, with great simplicity, clearness, and effect."—*The Times*.

BY THE SAME AUTHOR.

The Life of Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D. With Portraits by JEENS. (1) LIBRARY EDITION, 2 vols. Royal 8vo. Price 24s. (2) POPULAR EDITION, 1 vol. Price 9s. London: Hodder and Stoughton. 1879.

"Dr. George Smith's life of Duff is characterised by the same mastery of his subject and skill in its presentment as distinguished his 'Life of Dr. John Wilson of Bombay.'"—*The Athenæum.*

"The two missionaries are happy in their biographer."—*The London Quarterly Review.*

The Student's Geography of British India, Political and Physical, with Maps (detailing the principal Mission Stations of Forty-six Churches and Societies, and of the Latin and Greek Churches there). Price 7s. 6d. London: John Murray. 1882.

"It is a marvel of labour and condensation."—*The Spectator.*

"The difficult and usually ungrateful task of condensing such a gigantic subject into a given number of pages has been undertaken and accomplished so ably and carefully that the descriptions, though necessarily brief, are full of interest. The whole book is carefully and thoroughly planned. The maps are clear and well arranged."—*The Economist.*

Short History of Christian Missions, from Abraham and Paul to Carey, Livingstone, and Duff. Second Edition. Price 2s. 6d. Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark. 1886. (Handbooks for Bible Classes and Private Students.)

[redacted] we have not only the history of all missions, but also the philo[redacted] the origin, the theory, the rationale of this department of the kingdom of Christ. The details of the story of the various missions, and the life and work of the world's most noted and devoted missionaries, are graphically recorded, and the statistical information given is particularly useful and thorough. The possessor of this little volume will find himself as well furnished as if he had a hundred volumes on missions at his hand."—*The British and Foreign Evangelical Review.*

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